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The Nation

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The Nation

Vol. CVII

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1918

No. 2791

The Week

BY way of contrast with the amiable and liberal utterances lately exchanged by Italian diplomats and American statesmen, it is interesting to read in recent dispatches from Paris that the representatives there from Yugoslav countries are "becoming disturbed." Perhaps the failure of President Wilson and the representatives of Italy to discuss the Italian claims "in detail" may be the cause of this seemingly unreasonable state of the Yugoslav mind. Perhaps they read a hint in the recent announcement of Premier Orlando that "we cannot demobilize, and must keep all our war material intact, for the difficulties to be surmounted will increase rather than diminish." The Yugoslav representatives at Paris apparently count on President Wilson to batter down the cynical provisions of the Treaty of London, but his lately expressed sympathy for Italian aspirations, even though coupled with friendly sentiments towards "small and oppressed nationalities," offers little hope of a determined attitude. Probably he will do little more than arbitrate between antagonists who know all too well what they want. An Italian army officer, connected with Italy's peace delegation at Paris, is credited with the following convincing and conspicuously frank remarks:

We won a great victory and insist upon all the fruits of it. . . . As our victory is far greater than we or our Allies expected, we want more than we first asked when we entered the war. . . . Of course, we insist upon everything promised us by the London Treaty of 1915, but we now ask more. In short, the whole Adriatic—the east coast as well as the west—should be Italian, save for the ports, which we are perfectly willing to grant to the Yugoslavs. We want that and also an improved position with reference to Abyssinia. Many of these Yugoslavs, who would take to themselves what Italy rightly won by her part in the war, are really Austrians. They are our ancient enemies, now trying to disguise themselves as the people of an oppressed nation to gain the sympathy of our Allies and make territorial capital of it against us.

THE proposal to hold an International Congress of the Dark-skinned Races of the World is significant both as a symptom of the growing self-consciousness and race pride among the peoples indigenous to the Orient and the tropics and as a possible precursor of a time when the somewhat hard and superficial culture of the Caucasian shall again be enriched by other civilizations. In India, Persia, and Japan, as well as in other parts of the non-European world there is a growing unwillingness to remain under the excluding shadow of the upstart civilizations of the West. If the people of those countries make common cause with the African races they will total a large part of the population of the world and one that cannot be permanently relegated to the background. It will be of peculiar interest to see whether a new Arabian state with a capital at Damascus can emerge from its long eclipse and revive the days when Arabian mathematics, science, craftsmanship, architecture, and literature led the world and Arabians alone had access to the buried treasures of Greek thought.

WITHIN the country, as without, the armistice is far from having brought Rumania to the end of her struggle. On December 3 Bucharest, which had been deserted as the seat of government since November, 1916, was entered in triumph by the King and Queen. Dispatches of the following day reported the city in flames and the agricultural population in open revolt. This was afterwards denied, but in these stirring times there is doubtless ferment in a country of large estates with neighbors, like Servia and Bulgaria, in which the land is in the hands of the cultivators. Agrarian and electoral reforms, long overdue, had been taken in hand before the invasion, but the Germans put an end to them. The fall of the pro-German Marghiloman Ministry, following the German collapse, meant a complete change of policy. All the decrees of the previous period were annulled and it was announced that a Constituent Assembly would be elected by universal suffrage throughout the country (including Bessarabia, which Rumania had acquired from Russia in the course of the war). In Rumania there are some seven and a half millions, and the democratic forces are apparently building great hopes on the incorporation with them of nearly as many more in Transylvania, Bessarabia, and the Bukovina. The Socialists of Transylvania are reported to have voted for union with Rumania only in consideration of the reforms promised from Bucharest.

SWITZERLAND is inevitably feeling the effects of movements in the four neighboring countries, every one of which is more or less disturbed, and of the upheaval in Russia. In addition, she has troubles enough of her own. With her tourist traffic closed down and material for her industries lacking, she has had to feed interned soldiers, many thousand deserters and military fugitives, and an immense number of civilian refugees, to whom she has shown a fine generosity. The high cost of living has therefore borne heavily on a people who in any case were not wealthy. It is not surprising that since early summer the country has lain under the threat of a general strike. The strike nearly came to a head in August, but was averted. In November it actually broke out, but lasted only three days, and the authorities were able to maintain order. The strikers demanded new elections to the Parliament on the basis of proportional representation, woman suffrage, popular reorganization of the army, guarantee of food supply in co-operation with the agricultural producers, a forty-six hour week, general obligatory labor, state monopoly of importation and exportation, old-age and invalidity insurance, and payment of the public debt by the propertied classes. These demands found a welcome among men outside the ranks of Socialists and the workers—for instance, from Scherer-Fuellemann, speaking in Parliament on behalf of the democrats of the left, and from Professor Ragaz, in his organ *Neue Wege*, where he called the demands "simple, illuminating, and necessary." He holds that the Federal Council has employed reactionary methods and is itself so distinctly the representative of a party that it has no right to reproach the workers' committee with being a "soviet." In the present situation, he declares, force, actually though not nominally, is

arrayed against force, and the class which has formal legality but not superior right on its side is set over against the other class. The only solution, he concludes, is to replace this state of things by general coöperation on a basis of justice, good will, and genuine democracy.

THE interests of the United States in the self-governing Dominions of the British Empire are secured and furthered by our consuls. The considerable interests of the Dominions in the United States have up to the present been neglected. Under the British imperial system the Dominions cannot appoint diplomatic envoys, and only this year, through the initiative of Premier Hughes, has Australia met the anomalous situation by the appointment of a "commissioner." The first Australian Commissioner, Mr. Braddon, has been in New York for about two months. His work has been chiefly that of investigation and report, and already he has convinced himself of the necessity of a permanent office to handle the commercial relations between the United States and Australia. Interest in Mr. Braddon's mission has spread far beyond the limits of the two countries. Already Canada is reported to be considering the establishment of a publicity bureau for commercial and general purposes in the United States. New Zealand is watching Australia's move with sharp interest, and even South Africa is said to be discussing the possibility of making closer commercial connections with the trading interests of the United States. The establishment of direct official relations between the British Dominions and the rest of the world is important far beyond its commercial implications.

FRAGMENTARY and inconspicuous news items indicate a strange state of things in the Canadian municipal public service. A few weeks ago Winnipeg suffered from an obstinate strike in the postal service. On December 13 the *New York Times* printed an item stating that all the policemen and firemen in Montreal were on strike and that the city was helpless in the hands of rioters; and shortly afterward a similar disturbance was reported in Toronto. Later news showed that the situation in both places was extremely serious. One Canadian newspaper estimated the injury done by lawless gangs at \$300,000. The question at issue appears to have been a wage increase, and it was settled by arbitration. American news of Canadian labor is unfortunately so scanty that it is hard to see at this distance what the actual conditions are, and it seems a little extraordinary that the principal disagreements that we do hear of are in the public service. As a rule, public servants are slow to use trade-unionist weapons, and hence it would seem that in Canada they are uncommonly handy with the strike, or else that their action betokens a more general discontent than has been recorded in our American press.

RECENTLY a "clash with Mexicans" was headlined with due form and ceremony by our leading papers. The armed navy guard of the American steamship "Monterey" came into collision with some Mexican customs officers, and one Mexican was killed, another mortally wounded, and an American was seriously hurt. The American officials "refused to discuss the incident," but the gossip of the passengers runs to the effect that the Mexicans began it. Last week a syndicated cartoon, with the caption "How About It?" showed Uncle Sam in full uniform, sitting on a box of ammunition, whittling a stick, a rifle by his side, solilo-

quizing, "What was the name of that fellow down there in Mexico who congratulated the Kaiser on his birthday?" Not long ago, too, the *Christian Science Monitor* came out with a first-class imperialistic editorial under the prepossessing caption "Mexico Next." We are quite sure that the American people wants no more international trouble than it has lately had. Its taste of war and its consequences appears to be quite enough for a long time. We mention the foregoing in the hope that our public has pretty well cut its eye-teeth on the processes by which wars are made, and has discovered the futility of blind dependence on officeholders for its hopes of averting wars. If the people will act against war's invariable preliminaries with half the promptness and energy that they display after they are hopelessly committed, there will be no war hereafter; and they have a splendid opportunity to start proceedings whenever they see the name of Mexico mentioned in a reactionary and imperialist newspaper.

SECRETARY BAKER deserves well of the public for his belated acknowledgment of the military atrocities committed upon the conscientious objectors. He has dismissed some army officers from the service on this account; a very moderate punishment, but to those like ourselves who are not greatly interested in punishment after the fact, it amounts to satisfactory public admission that a wrong has been committed. Much more is he to be commended for resisting the pressure of powerful interests and their misinformed and misguided followers in behalf of universal military training. When the bills come up next year the country may depend on seeing that vicious-eyed, spavined hobby trotted out and put through all its paces. Secretary Baker has shown pretty conclusively that he is afraid to ride it even with the bit of six months' intensive training, warranted to restrain the creature from capering off into militarism. The President's views are, as usual, uncertain, and will be what they will be; but Secretary Baker's reluctance is a good focal point upon which to converge every encouragement to keep the dangerous animal stabled and tethered.

FROM the weekly paper published by soldiers for soldier patients in one of the big hospitals we quote this passage: "When we 'get back on the job'—whatever that job may be—we will demand a square deal—not toadying and flattery. We are men and we are not so modest as to doubt our friends when they tell us we proved it over there. We want to be treated as men, not as sick children or family pets." The soldier wants primarily to be replaced in industry, from which the draft so suddenly withdrew him; he wants a normal place again in the community, and we trust that he wants a better community. Grateful patriots and clubs are willingly entertaining him, and head-lines reporting conventions of business men assure him continually that "jobs are waiting all soldiers"—but just how much is actually being done to bring the job and the soldier together? Unfortunate and probably temporary delay has interfered with the payment of his allotment, and an increasing number of soldiers are reported to be walking the streets without money in their pockets. Under such circumstances, they will doubtless be interested in an advertisement appearing in the *New York papers* for December 20, asking their aid to avert a threatened strike in the harbor: "Here is a chance to help yourself and at the same time to do a good

turn to the fellows who are 'Over There' and who are yet to come back. You would not have hesitated to share your grub with them in the trenches. Help to give them a lift and assure them a continuous supply of food and other necessities." Thus the advertisement. In the announcement of the employers, drawn up at the Towboat Exchange, the cause of the strike is indicated: "We are informed that the National War Labor Board will come here on Saturday. If it is the purpose of these excellent and well-meaning gentlemen to try to force us into arbitration of the eight-hour-day question they might just as well save their time and the Government's money by staying in Washington." We trust that employers do not base their rosy prophecies of "prosperity" on the hope of discontented soldiers as strike-breakers; for the soldiers are scarcely likely to consider such treatment "a square deal"; they may not even regard it as "toadying and flattery."

IT is just announced that the people of North Dakota at the last election passed by referendum vote a constitutional amendment empowering the legislature to exempt from taxation any and all improvements on farm property. On January 6, the legislature convenes and it is expected that a positive enactment will then be made. The legislature is not empowered, however, to exempt from taxation improvements on urban property. The passage of the amendment is due to the Nonpartisan League, which controls North Dakota and its legislature. Not only will such an amendment make it possible for the owner-farmer to improve his property without a punitive rise in taxation, but it will leave little excuse for the tenant-farmer to be gouged by continually rising rents as the farm which he occupies improves under his diligence and thrift. In North Dakota there is apparently immediate prospect of a legal change. In Nebraska, also, the fight of the farmers against land speculation has recently gained considerable impetus. Very nearly half of Nebraska's farms are worked by tenants. About the middle of last November, according to the *Nonpartisan Leader*, 225 tenants of the Scully estate in Nuckolls county were called to the office of the estate's agent. There they were presented with the alternative of paying fifty or one hundred per cent. more rent next year or moving off. This was more than they could stand; they organized and are attempting to deal directly now with the owners of the Scully lands. In the meantime they have begun an agitation for the elimination of speculation in land and of the right of the landlord to seize the tenant's investments in improvements. Under the common law to-day all fixtures are legally the property of the land owner. One Peter Hansen is leading the so-called strike. He has been renting the same farm for fifteen years and has put \$10,000 worth of improvements on it. Even if the lease provided that he might take away improvements, he could not realize more than \$3,000 on his investment. On the Scully lands, again according to the *Leader*, the tenants have always had to make the improvements and pay the taxes, aside from keeping up with periodical increase in rents.

IT is greatly to be hoped that while elaborate plans are being formed for the reconstruction of manufacturing, trade, and labor conditions generally, the farmers will not be neglected. It has been a common criticism of the American farmer that he was not a business man, that he did not keep such accounts of his receipts and expenditures as would

enable him to know whether the annual turnover showed a profit or a loss, and that his dependence upon the middleman was due quite as much to his ignorance of selling methods and the state of the market as to the necessity of finding some convenient way of marketing his crop. The farmer himself, on the other hand, has been inclined to denounce the middleman as a robber, and even to put all business men, especially bankers, into the same category. There is clearly a need of getting together so far as business men and farmers are concerned. At the recent conference of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, at Atlantic City, Mr. R. G. Rhett, a banker of Charleston, South Carolina, gave an interesting account of the way in which the business men of that city had helped to revive and increase the industry of truck farming, which had been languishing, by showing the farmers how to market their product through a joint selling agency. Out of this first practical step has come a revolution in the attitude of the farmers of the neighborhood towards business in general, the employment of a Federal farm demonstrator, and increased adoption by the farmers of business methods. Charleston also has a community house where farmers and their wives may make their headquarters when in town. All this is in a high degree encouraging, as are similar experiments elsewhere. What is needed is to make the improvement general, and not merely an affair of localities. The whole question of the business status of the farmer, including the laws and customs which are supposed to give him special favor, ought to be examined as a part of a general reconstruction programme.

TWO deaths were reported on December 22 which mean serious loss to the American people and to their literature. Walter Hines Page, recently American Ambassador to England, died at the age of sixty-three, leaving behind him work finished, well done and smoothly. The other, Randolph Bourne, was only thirty-two; he promised much more for our literature than he had time to fulfil. Mr. Page studied at Randolph-Macon College and was a fellow at Johns Hopkins University from 1876 to 1878. He had received degrees from the Universities of Cambridge, Aberdeen, Oxford, and Edinburgh. He began his career as a newspaper man and in 1890 entered the magazine field as editor of the *Forum*. Later he became editor of the *Atlantic Monthly* and then literary advisor to the Houghton Mifflin Company. From this work he entered the publishing business himself as a member of the firm of Doubleday, Page & Company. Five years ago he was appointed Ambassador to England. A charming, witty, conciliatory Southerner, he discharged his exacting duties in London with tact and judgment. He was a gracious and cultivated man of letters, the type perhaps of an age which is disappearing. Randolph Bourne, on the other hand, was not a suave diplomat, but an iconoclastic critic and essayist, caustic, implacable, relentless. He hated the world's shams, and his minute analyses of events, books, or people uncovered multitudinous hypocrisies. He was a comedian in the Meredithian sense, with a remarkably quick appreciation of the ludicrous; and his criticisms and opinions were expressed without regard for prevailing sentiment. Constantly curious, constantly exploring, he had a philosophy that transcended his physical weakness, and a stern cold courage much needed in these days of too ready acquiescence in compromises that make for easy comfort.

The Open Menace of Secrecy

LORD NORTHCLIFFE is admittedly an able journalist, as modern journalism goes. Whatever may be thought of his methods or his ideals—and we are not of those who have regarded them as at any time free from grave defects—he nevertheless has a keen eye for “news,” a keen perception of what the public is interested in and of the demands to which it is ready to respond. His principal organ, the *London Times*, is probably the most powerful daily newspaper in the world. What is more, Lord Northcliffe is a weighty factor in British politics, and is credited with having made or unmade more than one political reputation. When, accordingly, he speaks out in unmeasured condemnation of the secrecy with which the preliminaries of the peace conference have thus far been conducted, we may be sure not only that the situation itself is rapidly approaching the dimensions of an international scandal, but also that public opinion is about ready to demand a change. “Nothing can be worse for the prospects of the coming conference,” Lord Northcliffe declared in a statement at Paris the other day, “than an atmosphere of secrecy and half truths.” “Shall the destinies of millions of people in all quarters of the globe be left to the tender mercies of a comparative handful of delegates, against whose enactments there is no public appeal? Such would be mockery of that principle of self-determination of free nations which has been fought for and won in this war.”

It is of the highest importance that the American public should realize the gravity of the situation which Lord Northcliffe, in the words just quoted, describes without exaggeration. In spite of a rigorous censorship—and the rigors of the censorship over both newspaper and private correspondence have not been materially relaxed since the signing of the armistice—and the optimistic dispatches of certain American correspondents who tell how President Wilson has quieted all fears and is certain to have his way, the fact remains that nothing of importance regarding a democratic peace settlement has yet been done openly, and that the American and the Allied Governments have given no indication as yet of a purpose to have anything done openly. Neither Mr. Lloyd George nor M. Clemenceau nor Signor Orlando stands for open discussion of peace terms, nor do they appear to have been affected in the least by such protests as those of the British Labor party, or of labor and Socialist forces elsewhere, against the course which is being pursued. Even Mr. Wilson can no longer be counted among the supporters of open diplomacy; for while he is indeed reported to have expressed a wish for open discussion at the conference, he not only has taken no steps, so far as the public knows, to make his wish effective, but is himself holding private conferences daily with the representatives of other Governments regarding their respective claims and their attitude toward his own supposed programme.

One might, perhaps, view the situation with less concern were there some reasonable assurance that what is being done behind closed doors is being done with sedulous regard for the people's wishes and the people's welfare. Such assurance, unfortunately, is almost wholly lacking. Not one positive indication has yet appeared that the peace settlement which is soon to be undertaken at Versailles will be a people's settlement, or that it is really, if mistakenly, intended to be a people's settlement. Hardly a

single delegate whose appointment has been announced, from any country anywhere, can properly be called a people's delegate. The men who apparently are to speak for the nations at the peace conference are, in overwhelming majority, either the heads or the leading members of the Allied Governments, who, however successfully they may have piloted their countries through the war, are nevertheless responsible for every abuse of power and every suppression of constitutional liberty which the war has developed within their political jurisdictions; or routine administrative officials with eyes and ears open only to precedents and proprieties, and wholly subservient to their chiefs; or discarded diplomats of the old school, dragged from retirement to lend dignity to the assemblage and at the same time to pacify some partisan clamor. As a peace conference of people's delegates, summoned to redress the wrongs, harmonize the differences, and safeguard the future of the nations, the congress of Versailles bids fair to be, in personnel, little more than a ghastly joke.

And what, down to the present time, is the situation with which the conference will go through the forms of dealing? At bottom, the character of that situation is determined by the secret Treaty of London, concluded in 1915 between Great Britain, France, Italy, and Russia, and still accepted as binding by the first three of those Powers notwithstanding that Russia has withdrawn. Of all the known diplomatic agreements which underlie the war, the Treaty of London is the most reprehensible. Not only did Italy, by that treaty, bargain for the reward, in money and territory, which it should receive in return for its entrance into the war on the side of the Allies, but the Allied Powers themselves, champions of the rights of peoples and of the sanctity of international agreements, secretly consented that Italy should satisfy its lust for territory at the expense, not alone of Austria, but of friendly states. If it is the disgrace of the then Governments of Great Britain and France that they should have plotted in secret for the ultimate parcelling of territory which did not belong to them, it is the deeper shame of Italy that it put a price upon its support and stayed out of the war until the price was guaranteed. Yet the secret Treaty of London is still in force. Mr. Balfour has recently declared its observance to be an honorable obligation of the British Government, while Italy not only proposes to stand for it to the letter, but is already proceeding with the occupation of the Slav territories which the treaty promised. Mr. Wilson, who is reported to have discussed the question with Premier Orlando and Baron Sonnino, appears not to have been able to shake the determination of the Italian Government to have its pound of flesh.

The secret understandings which Lord Northcliffe denounces, however, go further. Already the cable dispatches have told us that the three Governments which were parties to the secret Treaty of London have been in secret conference, and have reached an agreement upon the main lines of policy which they will support at the peace conference. What does this mean? The answer may be read by any one who will scan the list of some of the chief problems which the peace settlement involves. The Jugoslavs, whose national independence the United States and the Allies have recognized, but who now find themselves the victims of Italian aggression, will have to accept a compromise; for Italy is an important factor in the Allied plans for the Mediterranean, and must not be offended. The Czecho-

Slovaks, whose national independence has also been recognized, will likewise have to accept the decision which will eventually be announced and which perhaps has already been secretly arrived at. The immediate fate of Russia, which desires neither indemnities nor annexations, is perhaps at this moment being decided in secret *pourparlers* in which no representative of the Russian people is allowed to participate. So with Germany, and Austria, and Rumania, and Greece, and the German colonies, and Turkey, and all the rest; so also with indemnities, and military occupation, and the German fleet, and the economic war.

There is only one course that can save Mr. Wilson and his policies. That is to insist upon the immediate abandonment and repudiation of the Treaty of London and the whole baneful structure of secret negotiations and private understandings; and, failing that, to appeal to the peoples against their Governments. Unless this is done, the peoples who now look to Mr. Wilson will before long look to themselves.

Responsible Diplomacy

SENATOR JOHNSON'S resolution demanding information regarding the policy and purposes of the United States Government in Russia was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, where it now reposes and is likely to repose for a much longer time than the urgency of the matter makes either convenient or tolerable; for such is the mechanics of what the Senator himself, in speaking to his resolution, without a hint of irony, styled "the great democracy of the world." Meanwhile Viscount Milner, the responsible officer of a Government which is not nominally democratic, has made reply to a similar demand. His reply was not, it is true, very informative or convincing. For the most part it went over the ground covered by our State Department in what Senator Johnson accurately terms the "disingenuous announcement" made at the time of our armed incursion upon Russian soil. For the rest, Lord Milner merely intimates that those who question the good faith of the British Government are ill-informed. The answer to this, of course, is obvious. But the point we raise is that Viscount Milner made some sort of reply, made it with pretty fair promptness, and made it because he had to; while in "the great democracy of the world" there is no way short of a Congressional investigation to compel the Department of State to make any reply at all. Mr. Lansing can disregard entirely the Johnson resolution. He can tell Senator Johnson and his entire body of associates, and all the force of public opinion that could be mustered from coast to coast, to whistle for their pains. If Viscount Milner's reply is unsatisfactory, his questioners can make trouble for him until he does better. He is immediately and continuously "on the carpet," as our slang goes. The American Secretary of State can not be touched by any demonstration of popular interest, short of the violence of a raiding mob. No one would pretend that the British system is perfect; Lord Milner's presence and influence in the Government is *prima facie* evidence that it is very far from perfect. But it does enforce upon its agents a high degree of direct responsibility to the people, while our republican system enforces none and encourages none.

Everyone should be cordially interested in Senator Johnson's resolution. We can not have too ample information about our proceedings in Russia; the stamp and seal of pro-

found hypocrisy can not be put too clearly upon the pretensions made by our Government for their inauguration. Yet in itself the possession of this information makes little against the recurrence of such a national disgrace. Let us consider the matter as it really is. At most, the Senator's resolution amounts to a complaint that the present régime of officeholders have taken unscrupulous advantage of the irresponsibility permitted them by our constitutional machinery. Well, but President Wilson himself used to talk somewhat so, a few years ago. Without disparaging the Senator, it is quite possible to imagine a régime of his own, a few years hence, taking the same unscrupulous advantage of the same license. Officeholders are notoriously beset, beset far beyond the common run of men, by the demons of need, greed, and vainglory. President Lincoln, himself the best politician of his time, frankly said that by the very nature and exigencies of his trade, the politician is "a long step removed from common honesty." Mere blame, therefore, mere showing-up of the misfeasances of this or that set of public servants accomplishes little, so long as the opportunity is left wide and free for another set to do likewise. So long as they are not made directly and immediately responsible to the people whose interests they are supposed to serve, what is the practical point of complaint when those interests are not served? Any housekeeper knows how much better practical policy it is to count the spoons every day than to leave them uncounted for four years and then make a fuss because some of them are missing.

Indeed, we believe that our liberal publicists beget a dangerous political cynicism by their querulous preference for complaint against their public servants rather than for calling on the people to correct the almost ludicrous conditions of irresponsibility under which those servants work. The liberal element in politics, the liberal press, have little more of value to offer usually than might be simmered down to the inept suggestion to "turn the rascals out." The people, appraising this feeble stuff by instinct at its proper value, are led into a cynical despair of their own power and a belief that the ills they suffer are somehow part of the order of nature and must be borne with a quietist indifference. It is very well to be indignant over Russia, very well to demand the facts, but, after all, our troops are there, the disingenuous policy of our officeholders is in full force and there is no way to defeat or check it. One thing we can do, however—and Senator Johnson does not mention it. We can democratize our State Department, and thereby give ourselves the best possible guarantee that nothing of the sort shall happen again—not in Mexico, for example, a year or two hence. It is very well to complain about the way the wind is blowing at the peace conference, but the peace conference is sitting; its preliminary arrangements, its trades and deals, are all made and they can not be unmade. But one thing, again, we can do. We can make such constitutional changes as will insure us a representative government instead of a delegated government; and then we shall be prepared against any emergency of the kind hereafter. Is there anything conceivably more mischievous, more preposterous, than that the foreign and domestic policies of a great nation should be regulated by the periodicity of the earth's motion on its axis? Yet we hear no recommendation of a fundamental change, either from Senator Johnson, from Mr. Roosevelt, or from our leading progressive practitioners—and this in spite of the dark record of

failure registered against our practice and technique of self-government when put to the test of great emergency.

No one wants a revolution except a "revolution by due course of law." A revolution by violence is a terrible indictment against a people that commits its fortunes to it. When enough intelligence can not be organized to cooperate with impending social changes to avert a revolution by violence, the people are in a bad way. Our hope is that the American people will see in the Johnson resolution a reminder that the business of the State Department is *their* business, and that they are entitled to full cognizance of every process of it; and that they will promptly create conditions whereby they can get this knowledge whenever they want it. We hope that the humiliating and disastrous course of our public affairs, both foreign and domestic, will be accepted as an earnest of precisely what they may expect as long as they tolerate a delegated and irresponsible government instead of the representative government that they have all along supposed they possessed. The organization of this knowledge will be the beginning of a revolution that is not violent, but orderly and glorious.

More "Truth" About Russia

THE following circular letter, carrying the business letterhead of the American Defense Society, Inc., has been received by a clergyman who furnishes it for publication.

December 13, 1918

Now that the hearts and souls of all the people in this country are rejoicing over the success of right over militarism and autocracy, one important fact is apt to be overlooked and that is the need of the party of law and order in Russia for aid in organizing her economic life and transportation facilities. Millions of people are destined to die of starvation in Russia this winter due to the fact that her transportation facilities have been destroyed by the Bolshevik inefficiency. Russia is the gigantic granary of the world and has an untold wealth of every food product necessary to man's support, yet to-day she lies bleeding and destroyed in the grasp of a few pro-German foreigners who have been backed entirely by German money.

Americans know vaguely of the sacrifices Russia made in the causes of the Allies, of her millions of dead and wounded and the awful results of the revolution. At the present moment Russia looks to America for deliverance from the Bolshevik menace. France and England have long been ready to render Russia the only effective assistance she needs, that of uniforming the party of law and order so that relief may be sent the Russian people in the form of clothing and drugs. The party of law and order is at present personified by the party in Siberia headed by Admiral Kolchak. Supporting him are 37,000 troops composed of 12,000 armed troops and 25,000 Czecho-Slovaks. In Siberia there are from two to three hundred thousand mobilized troops who are waiting and willing to do the work but are kept back because they have no arms nor equipment. This party of whom Admiral Kolchak is the head can be truthfully called the party of law and order, and America ought to cooperate with the Allies in supplying this party with every necessity to enable them to drive out the Bolsheviks and restore order to the country. In advocating support of this party, I wish to inform you that you will not be advocating the support of any one political party in Russia. The program put before the Supreme War Council in Versailles, states that it was necessary for the Allies themselves to choose reputable military commanders to re-organize the Russian national army and that the party of Admiral Kolchak would abide by the decision of Versailles. This is enough to show you the sincerity and

willingness of the Russians themselves to forget their own political opinions and cooperate with the Allies.

Realizing the tremendous influence exerted by the ministers of this country, we are asking them to preach on Sunday, December 29th on the need for some action being taken in Congress to see that Russia is given the help she needs. We urge you to give this matter your immediate attention and shall be glad indeed to give you further data and information upon request. I am enclosing with this letter a pamphlet entitled "Help for Russia" which you may be interested in reading.

May I hear from you on this matter at your earliest convenience?

Yours sincerely,

CHARLES STEWART DAVISON,
Chairman Board of Trustees

If Senator Johnson, whose demand for an investigation of American dealings with Russia has proved so extremely disturbing to the State Department and to various persons and "interests" at Washington and elsewhere, needs further information than has already poured in upon him regarding the way in which sentiment in favor of military intervention in Russia has been worked up in this country, he can not do better than to include Mr. Davison and the American Defense Society in the scope of his inquiry. Of all the self-constituted organizations which have devoted themselves to stimulating "patriotism," rooting out pro-Germanism real or fancied, and devising "loyalty tests" which are a menace and a scourge, none has been more active than the American Defense Society. The full story of its operations is yet to be told; but, like its sister aggregation, the National Security League, whose "patriotic" exertions are being investigated by Congress, its name has been coupled in newspaper reports with stories of intimidation, boycott, and even personal indignity and violence, directed against individuals or institutions in various parts of the country whose "loyalty" was not sufficiently intense or outspoken; and it has not, so far as we are aware, publicly denied complicity or disclaimed sympathy. Of late it appears to have been turning its rubber-soled attentions to prospective sales of German-made goods, and the other day the newspapers announced that some seven hundred dealers, including several who, one would have thought, should have known better, in New York city alone had promised, at its "request," to refrain from handling such articles.

The letter which we reprint shows the Society in a new rôle. Our spiritual counsellors are now "asked" to tell us what to think and what to do about Russia. The American Defense Society is out to support the Kolchak party in Siberia. That some of the allegations of fact in the letter are patently perversions of truth, while others are ingenious or clumsy misrepresentations, and that the whole statement shows abysmal ignorance of what the situation in Russia really is, does not prevent this self-appointed guardian of the American conscience from summoning the clergy to its standard and proffering "further data and information" to back them up. The American Defense Society has many ways of making the weight of its displeasure felt, and we fear that some ministers will fall into the pit that has been dug for them. Those who do so, however, may be pitied and forgiven, for the honorary president of the Society is no less a personage than Mr. Roosevelt, and one of its honorary vice-presidents is President Hibben, of Princeton University. If Mr. Roosevelt and President Hibben are so blind as to believe that the reactionary Kolchak and his party are the real hope of Russia, they can not complain if their followers also fall into the ditch.

We hope that Congress will not stay its hand until it has investigated the American Defense Society, root and branches. The public, which has suffered much, is entitled to know who is back of the Society, where its money has come from, and what its methods have been and are. It is also worth while to know whether a concerted movement to overthrow a foreign Government with which the United States is not at war, or to support a revolutionary Government on foreign soil, or to coerce merchants in the matter of foreign trade, is or is not beyond the reach of the Federal statutes.

Safeguarding Our Minds

DURING the war unaccustomed restraints have been placed on the press, on private correspondence, and on public and private speech. The public is more fully aware of the censorship exercised over newspapers and letters than of that over books; yet the latter has great interest. To begin with library circulation, we have first the *coup* perpetrated through the Library War Service Headquarters in the Library of Congress during the absence of Secretary Baker in Europe. An imposing *index expurgatorius* was compiled of books "undesirable for soldiers to read," and any copies of these found in camp libraries were ordered removed or destroyed. The list of books given this gratuitous advertising was a varied one. It included Chesterton's "Utopia of Usurers" and two books by Ambrose Bierce, one of them published in 1901. One volume was by a high Federal official now in Paris; another was "A German Deserter's War Experiences," which one would have supposed might well have been used as material by the American propaganda officials. Public library authorities also took it upon themselves to censor the books admitted to circulation, so that readers should have, not the varied matter of this rough-and-ready world, but such strained and sifted stuff as should lead them to think and feel as the trustees thought they ought to do.

Secretary Baker on his return at once annulled the order banning the books, with the remark that "American soldiers can be trusted to read whatever any other citizen can be trusted to read." Unhappily, Secretary Baker's liberal policy seems never to have penetrated fully to the camp libraries themselves. Unfortunately, too, it was met with what was apparently a conspiracy of silence on the part of the press; of course the *plus qu'aboutiste* press had opened in full cry after the original prohibition.

The postal censor also was busy. One of his victims was Ellen La Motte's "The Backwash of War." Others were Benson's "Inviting War to America," which circulated freely for nearly two years after its appearance in May, 1916; Lajpat Rai's "An Open Letter to Lloyd George"; and a pamphlet by Lenine, "The Soviets At Work," in which he discusses the problems that confront any effort at economic reorganization on Socialist lines—a book, needless to say, necessary to every student of contemporary developments. The ignorance and carelessness displayed in the process of postal suppression were extraordinary. A publisher would be notified of the non-mailability of a work that he had never published. A book would be held up for months before a decision on it was rendered. One official would apparently be entirely unaware of suppressions already effected by others, and a book that was mailable when published

by one firm became suspect when issued by another. For example, take Veblen's "Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution." Brought out in 1915, it seems to have roused no official concern until June, 1918. The firm that had meanwhile taken it over was asked for a copy by the Post Office Department. On October 11 it was declared un-mailable, although only a short time before, Mr. Creel had advised a certain newspaper to print portions for propaganda purposes.

Latzko's "Men in War" seems to have caused the most serious alarm. It was at first allowed to circulate. Later, not only was it forbidden to go through the post office, but agents of the Military Intelligence Department came to the publishers' office to make sure that it was not being illegally circulated, put men in uniform at all the exits, and instituted a search. After some near-Prussian by-play the authorities were satisfied with sealing all copies in stock with a government seal and exacting a promise that all stray copies returned to the publishers should be reported to the Department and sealed by the firm. This book, which describes the horrors of war in an international spirit, is written by a refugee Hungarian officer, and contains satirical though veiled pictures of Hindenburg (in "The Victor") and the Crown Prince.

Even more interesting to thoughtful persons than the suppression of books is official tampering with them at their source. A member of the firm of Ginn & Company, the well-known text-book publishers, has made public the following communication:

WAR DEPARTMENT
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF
Washington

October 14, 1918.

GINN & COMPANY,
70 Fifth Avenue, New York City.
Gentlemen:

We thank you for the copy of "Outlines of European History," Part II (with Supplement), that you sent us. We have had one of our officers examine it with care. He has found the volume unobjectionable, and we have passed it without criticism.

Very truly yours,

M. CHURCHILL.

Brigadier-General, General Staff, Director of Military Intelligence, Chief Military Censor.

By R. Hughes, Major, U. S. A.

As a friend writes us: "Discriminating historians in the future will know what dependence they may place upon the texts of Ginn & Company, since these are not the mere haphazard productions of irresponsible scholarship but are each and every one examined with care by an officer of the General Staff, found unobjectionable, and passed without a word of criticism by the Director of Military Intelligence."

"The tumult and the shouting dies." The general amnesty of political prisoners which so many liberals all over the country are hoping for as the best New Year's gift may well be accompanied by forgiveness for much that has been ill-judged and hasty in the last feverish months and years. But now, before the lesson is forgotten, is the time to take mental account of stock, and to consider how the great mass of the American people can be helped to see that freedom of thought matters, and why. And now is the time to consider in what way the existing powers of the Post Office, which in their present shape are a disgrace to American intelligence, can be reduced to reasonable and proper limits.

Bruges

By ARTHUR SYMONS

BELGIAN literature, as distinguished from French, has come about through a fusion of two elements, the Flemish and the Walloon, which make up what we call the Belgian race; and it is only somewhat recently that any attempt has been made in literature to fuse these two elements. The Walloon, which is related to the French, brings a nervous sensibility and a delicate mental energy, while the Flemish, which is related to the Dutch, brings a slow, profound faculty of meditation and an almost primitive simplicity, together with a gross animal fervor, deeply rooted in the earth. Belgium is the country of Ruysbroeck and of Rubens, of the most spiritually abstract of mystics, and of the most carnal of the painters of life. In Belgian literature, coming into existence under that twofold influence, one becomes conscious at once of the body and of the soul, each interpenetrating the other in a constantly realized communion with nature. Lemonnier had already found out a way for himself, on definitely Flemish soil; Mæterlinck began to concern himself with the soul; Eckhoud with the strange passions of the body; Verhaeren with whatever was most colored and violent in body and soul and the external world; Rodenbach with the aged quietude of the little dead cities of his country. It was as if a sluggish body had become possessed of an unexpectedly powerful life; as if restless nerves had come to awaken a stolid nature. It was thus a new quality of imagination which seemed to reveal itself, as the soul becomes conscious of the mystery of the universe, and the body shivered at new fears, apprehensions, the haunting of a begotten spiritual sense. It was the soul coming into a literature of mind, and at once the literature of Belgium was distinguished from the literature of France.

Camille Lemonnier's best novels, such as "Un Mâle," are full of a great healthy animal life; the life of the earth, rudely yet subtly apprehended, as if by an instinct very close to nature. He knows the peasant, in all his simplicity, brutality, and uncouth vigor. He gives us the peasant as a human being, the most elemental of human beings. His descriptions are so admirable because they are so human. His men and women are so admirable because they are seen as a part of the same substance as the woods and fields they move in, not as social items. They live, love, act, as they do, because a mysterious force, of which they are for the most part unconscious, is in them; the same mysterious force which germinates in the furrows which they turn. And so he has surprising naïvetés, can be gross, accepts no compromises, and yet is full of restraint, of a kind of dignity, the strong man's mastery over his own strength. His style is large, colored, vividly sober, always firm and decisive, always the faithful interpreter of his thought or sensation.

Georges Eckhoud has evoked, in a prose more feverish than the verse of Verhaeren, the image of all that is most excessive, outcast, extravagant, in the life of his country. He writes the tragedies of those whom their own natures, or the misery of circumstance, have brought into conflict with society. He writes with a kind of fury of sympathy, a sort of perverse ecstasy, as if he delighted in the sorrows for which he has so revolutionary a pity. Every story is

a little violent episode, full of cruelty and compassion. He is impatient with words, as with acts; his words seem to reel under some airy intoxication; he writes always at full speed. All his work is a kind of confession, in which he seems to unburden himself of a heart-load of hates and sympathies, dramatizing his own emotions into incidents of an only too vigorous externality.

In Georges Rodenbach we find the sleepy spirit of Bruges, that other side of what is typically Flemish. The titles of his books are themselves significant of the aspect under which he saw his corner of the world. His best-known book, "Bruges-la-Morte," is an attempt to study the soul of a town, which he evokes with an almost feminine delicacy of perception. His prose and verse are pallid, elegant, monotonous with a kind of sweet monotony; they are sincere to a certain aspect of Belgian life, and to a personal way of receiving sensation, but they have none of the energy of a temperament able to dream strongly. They have charm, but it is a drowsy charm, a little conscious of the effectiveness of its languor; they are like faint pictures, not faded by time, but painted with timid colors.

In a certain year I crossed, with Ernest Dowson and our too well-known publisher, Smithers, from Newhaven to Antwerp, where we had many amusing adventures. From there we went to Bruges and then to Brussels. It was the time of the Kermesse, when the Flemish people are more boisterously jolly than usual—the Kermesse of Rubens. Quite Flemish, too, were the little mysterious booths, which I only saw in Paris in the time of the Exhibition. You pay a penny at the door and, once inside, are scarcely limited in regard to the sum you might easily spend. And I am still reminded of the fact that in 1896 I went with Rémy de Gourmont and Havelock Ellis to the Gingerbread Fair at Vincennes, which gave me some of the most curious sensations, in their own way, that I have ever had. There was a modern Monna Lisa with her snake, who held it in her fingers, like an exquisite and harmless Medusa; and, as the dark came on, an absolutely Verlainian effect, as, to the waltz measure of the roundabouts, turning, turning frantically, the last lingerers defied the midnight, a dance of shadows. So, it is easy for me, now, to imagine the Gingerbread Fair in Brussels, with something solidly Flemish in the sullen gayety of its shows and crowds, as solid as the *bons chevaux du bois*, Verlaine's *bons chevaux du bois*, that go prancing up and down in their rattling circles.

Bruges, with its exquisite and sad beauty, its air of loneliness and of a kind of mournful melancholy, reminded me of Arles. Only, Arles sits in the midst of its rocky plains, by the side of its river, among the tombs. And there is a smell of dead leaves everywhere, the moisture of stone, the sodden dampness of earth; and in the Aliscamps, lined on both sides with empty stone trough after empty stone trough, one remembers how Dante, when he was in hell and saw the *modo piu amaro* in which the people there are made into alleys of living tombs, was struck by the troughs of Arles:

Si com' ad Arli ove' l Rodano stagna.

Verlaine, who had been in Bruges in 1871, told me how

he adored it, how it inspired him; as it did Dowson and myself as we wandered along the streets and came to the *béguinage*, which thrilled his Catholic heart and enchanted mine. There, in the form of a square court, stood these small low houses, each with the nun's name painted on the doors; with, in the midst, what I can only call a village green, a wide space of bright green grass that shone in the hot sunlight. The hooded nuns passed with downcast eyes; as saintly, one can but suppose, as those I saw later in a convent in Moscow, with the veil tightened round the chin, under the tall and dark, almost Saracen hennas.

Bruges is an ancient city shaded with trees, that, in a sadder sense, reminds one of Arles; for Bruges mirrors itself in its canals; and Arles, that hints at a gentle fading out of life, of effacing oneself, always remembers itself, always looks into a mournfully veiled mirror which reflects something at least of what it was. There even the houses hardly care to distinguish themselves from the faint colors, the aged slumber, of the very ancient things about them. Still, when one gazes into the canals, on which the swans float without touching the quays, it is inevitable to recall to one's memory—even the sharp contrast of it—of the fact that Bruges has put frozen swans on the canals, and of the

fact that the lagoons of Venice are given up to passionate men and passionate women who glide in gondolas.

Night casts shadows on the too minute elegance of Flemish art and leaves visible no more than the imperious sense of might in architectural masses. Sometimes at twilight the dimmer air suggests to one's vision, in the belfry, the faint image of a Florentine citadel. Yet no one who has spent his days and nights in Italy and in Flanders can fail to feel that, in these streets of Bruges, one never hears confused words that have made his soul passionate.

To gaze from the quai du Rosaire on the little pond that bathes the lower part of the brick houses, some of which are painted in ochre, is to share in the melancholy of the very atmosphere. And in what is called *l'herbe des béguines* that grows on the old stones, one imagines the depths of this water losing itself under obscure vaults. The sky is sometimes so near those little bizarre high roofs that the bell-tower of Notre-Dame seems to touch it. And one hears sad music played in the fish-market. And, certainly, its feverish air recalls the sluggish, feverish tides in Venice, the slime of the *calles*, in that city in which one is always caught in an immense and intricate network, a very spider's web.

Chemist, Teacher, and Manufacturer

By WILLIAMS HAYNES

OF all the skeletons hidden in the closet of our economic house, one of the most noisome has been the bad relations existing between science and industry. Our men of science have looked upon the commercial application of their knowledge and their talents as prostitution. Our men of business have gloried above all else in being practical; and being practical has meant to them entire distrust of all information that comes from a book or a laboratory. We have learned, during the war, that this divorce of science and industry has been a severe handicap to progress both scientific and commercial. The American scientist no longer rejoices in his contempt for commercial affairs, nor does the American manufacturer now ignore scientific theory. This new reconciliation is nowhere more marked than in the field of chemistry. Nowhere will it have more far-reaching effects; for chemistry is the basis of innumerable manufacturing processes. The maker of match tips and the manufacturer of steel rails alike are dealing with manufacturing problems that are fundamentally chemical.

During the past four years, the dislocation of ordinary sources of crude materials has forced revisions in manufacturing processes, and many of these revisions have been chemical. Thus to save cargo space, the Shipping Board last year ordered that ships from the Dutch East Indies should no longer carry tapioca. The manufacturers of nitro-starch for the army endeavored to have this order revoked on the ground that tapioca was one of their necessary crude materials. W. B. D. Penniman, chemist to the Shipping Board, convinced both the Government and the manufacturers that nitro-starch can be made from corn starch. Other American chemists worked out the details of the manufacturing processes, and not only is the nitro-starch made from corn starch a better product than that made from tapioca, but it can also be produced more economically. Scores of similar manufacturing problems have

been solved by the aid of chemists. Even more important in closing the breach between chemists and manufacturers has been the rapid development of our chemical industries. In 1914 our imports of chemicals were valued at \$88,039,120; in 1917, at \$144,235,370. Even more striking is the increased value of our exports. In 1914 these were \$27,097,092. In 1917 they were \$193,254,160. In three years our chemical exports, despite the handicaps of the war in the production of these goods, have increased sevenfold in value.

Because of its appeal to the imagination and the publicity that it has received, our progress in the making of coal-tar products, particularly explosives and dyes, is well known, but not every one appreciates the great advances made in other fields of applied chemistry. Sulphuric acid is the most important basic material in commercial chemistry. Our production of this has doubled during the war. The output of its companion, nitric acid, has increased ten times. We have established a new synthetic ammonia industry making this product from the air by methods which have been developed to a state higher than anything known in Germany or Norway. In the new war industry of making poison gases we have found by-products that are commercially valuable. Before the war, acetone, used as a solvent in the "dope" for aeroplane wings and in the manufacture of cordite, was made here in limited quantities by a wood distillation process; there are now three other processes for its manufacture that are being worked commercially. One of these is based upon the fermentation of kelp, and acetone is but one of many products which American chemists are wringing from this giant seaweed of the Pacific Coast. Iodine is recovered in quantities which will affect favorably for us the price the Chilean producers have been able to command because of their natural monopoly. Ethyl acetate, ethyl propionate, ethyl butyrate, and a vegetable

gelatin, sodium alginate, are other important by-products of this kelp industry, which was organized to meet the demand for potash as fertilizer.

In the field of coal-tar chemistry, leaving out of consideration dyes and explosives, we are now producing over half a million dollars worth of photographic chemicals, nearly two million dollars worth of synthetic perfumes and flavors, and over five and a half million dollars worth of coal-tar medicines. Almost all of these belong commercially to the same class as phenol, of which we formerly imported our entire supply, while to-day we are exporting more than we imported in 1913.

In America are the crude materials—coal, oil, wood, and mineral ores—necessary for the greatest chemical industry in the world. We have also the necessary capital, and the men who control that capital have learned that the chemical industry is a field for profitable and permanent investment. The weak link in the chain is our lack of trained chemists. The big men interested in our chemical development are to-day giving their most serious consideration not to the unscrupulous, subsidized competition by which the great German chemical houses will try, after the war, to crush our chemical industry; but to the supply of properly trained American chemists. This is a problem that affects not only the American chemical industries themselves, but every American consumer. It is a problem which our colleges and universities must help us to solve. Much has been said in careless, uninformed disparagement of the American chemist. Such adverse criticism was never justified, and the accomplishments of American industries during the past four years in the face of peculiar difficulties are a complete refutation of such slurs. We have American chemists equal to any in the world, but we have not enough of them. It is a question of supply with which we are concerned to-day, and supply is usually intimately connected with demand.

In the past, salaries paid to chemists in industry have been influenced largely by salaries paid to teachers of chemistry. The young graduate seeking a commercial connection has found that the salary offered him was approximately that which was paid a college instructor in chemistry. Moreover, the opportunities for financial advancement were not so great as might have been supposed, since "chief chemists" were often paid no more than the proverbially meagre salaries of college professors. It is small wonder that the best young chemists, appreciating these facts, elected to secure the intellectual and social advantages which have gone with teaching. To-day the situation is changed. Good chemists in the industries are not only paid big salaries, but they also now have a real voice in the affairs of the companies with which they are associated. The ranks of the teachers of chemistry have been dangerously thinned, for not every manufacturer is so far-sighted as the one who withdrew his offer of a large salary to a college instructor when the president of the college pointed out to him that, as a teacher training future chemists, this man was in the long run more valuable than he would be as a plant director.

One of the natural results of the excessive demand for chemists has been the effort on the part of some manufacturers to combine the functions of two men in one. In any considerable chemical manufactory, there are two stages of the work: one in the laboratory, the other in the plant. Although the qualifications of the chemist and of the engineer are different, some colleges have attempted to meet the demand by training so-called chemical engineers. They have

given students a smattering of both subjects and handed them a meaningless degree. The functions of the chemist and of the engineer are distinct, and each must be thoroughly grounded in his major subjects. A proper training for the chemist requires more than four years almost undivided study of chemistry. Whatever we may think of the objects sought and the methods employed by the German chemical houses, it is impossible to deny that they were well supplied with chemists eminently fitted for industrial work, and the training of the German universities in chemistry was a thorough training in the pure science. American manufacturers are too astute to be always deceived by short cuts or false economy, and it is the chemist of the type turned out by our universities who will win recognition in the industrial field as he has in the past won it in the educational world.

Of chemists proper, two classes are necessary in industry—the analyst and the research worker. The duty of the analytical chemist is to see that the crude supplies are of proper strength and purity, and that the manufactured product meets required standards. His services are invaluable, and, if he has the education and the ability, practical analytical work in a plant is valuable training. Broadly speaking, analysis has been the only work that manufacturers have generally required of chemists, and yet, important as this check upon stock and output is, the work of the analytical chemist is far less important than original research work. The research chemist must bring to his task of developing new processes, discovering new products, and adopting by-products to new uses a thorough training in the fundamentals of chemistry. This presupposes the broadest possible foundation in theoretical chemistry, especially in physical chemistry and electro-chemistry, an intimate familiarity with chemical literature, and a sound working knowledge of higher mathematics, physics, and modern languages. These cannot be acquired in four years of undergraduate work. Obviously the requirements for analytical and research work differ. The analytical chemist must possess perseverance, extreme carefulness, and mental honesty to a high degree. The research man must not only be a thorough chemist, but he must be a fine enthusiast, a man of vigorous and original mind, willing to accept numberless defeats, always ready to attack his problems with spirit and from new points of view. Plainly, not every man is fitted to be an industrial chemist, and the greatest rewards of the profession naturally come to those who have the necessary mental and moral qualifications underlying their technical training.

The director of research in one of the large chemical companies has said that the first requisite of a chemist is perseverance, the second is perseverance, and the third is perseverance. If this be true, a prime requisite of the successful chemical manufacturer must be patience. American manufacturers, if they are to obtain the coöperation of chemists, must appreciate the peculiar difficulties of chemical work. Some chemical problems have been solved quickly—almost, it would seem, by a lucky stroke. By far the greatest developments in applied chemistry, however, have been the results of long painstaking experiments. The industrial chemist, on his part, must know that the fruits of his labor belong to his employers, and that the discoveries he makes in his laboratory belong to them. Wise employers, on the other hand, recognize and reward new discoveries made by their chemists.

That American manufacturers have come to a better appreciation of the services of chemists is best proved by the increased salaries they are paying. Money is the means by which industry measures values, and the salaries paid industrial chemists express graphically the value manufacturers place upon their services. There is little danger that these services will be less highly valued in future, and the action of the Du Pont Company in establishing eighteen fellowships for post-graduate work and thirty-three scholarships open to undergraduates in various colleges and universities all over the country is a sign that at least one of our largest corporations appreciates in even a broader way the value of the chemist to industry. The present good relations existing between chemists and manufacturers rest on a strong foundation of mutual self-interest, and the maintenance of these good relations depends, in the individual case, upon personal qualities. If he is able to meet men, success comes the more easily to a chemist in industrial work. Although this is not so vitally important for him as for the engineer, who, as superintendent of a chemical plant, deals directly with labor, still, the value of personality is great in the laboratory. Even if a chemist does not use his profession as a stepping-stone to an executive position, he is sure, in the modern régime, to be called into consultation with the heads of the producing and distributing departments.

The new demand for properly trained chemists puts upon the teachers of chemistry a larger and more serious obligation than they have heretofore borne. The opportunities before the industrial chemist have been emphasized, and many boys are tempted to take up chemistry as a profession. It requires, however, more than a liking for the novelty of laboratory work—a liking which may wear off after a semester or two—to make successful industrial chemists, and teachers of chemistry ought to exercise restraint in encouraging students to take up the science as a life work. Years ought not to be spent in acquiring training by men who lack the necessary qualifications.

It would seem to be highly desirable, especially in the undergraduate courses, to give chemistry that touch with the world of commerce which has sometimes been lacking. Many potential chemists have been lost because the practical application of the science has not been apparent in lectures or laboratory work. Under present conditions the chemical industry needs the services of all promising young men, and the commercial instinct, far from being, as it has been in the past, a detriment, is an asset. In post-graduate work, the experience which Germany had acquired and which we are acquiring proves that the emphasis should be upon pure chemistry. But the attention value of the commercial application of chemistry ought not to be lost in undergraduate courses.

So intimately is the future development of the American industry bound up in a proper supply of adequately trained chemists that it is impossible to over-emphasize its importance. Coupled with the basic importance of chemistry to all industries, this is one of the serious problems of the reconstruction of our economic life after the war. There is no doubt that a sound understanding on the part of teachers of chemistry of the requirements manufacturers must make of their chemists, and a fair appreciation on the part of undergraduates of the opportunities open to industrial chemists of proper training and qualifications will be a most valuable help in the solving of this problem.

Foreign Correspondence

I. Paris—and Paris

Paris, November 11

THERE are two Parises. One is on the boulevards to-night, deliriously celebrating peace. The other I saw yesterday; it was celebrating, too—celebrating the German Republic, chanting the Internationale, crying “Vive la révolution,” until the police cuffed the crowd back into the dark little by-streets of the workingmen’s quarter. To-night Paris is madly happy. She is celebrating peace—not victory, as the newspaper men would tell you, but peace, the Great Release. Sons and brothers may still be mobilized, but they are not being killed. The newspaper editorials and other more or less irresponsible forces are already planning crusades against the Bolsheviks, but these festive crowds have other and more pressing things to think about.

I was in Paris when the war broke out, four years ago. It was the same mad crowd. And they were celebrating the same thing then—release, from peace. Peace had meant misery and monotony and stupid cramped existence, and they cried “Vive la guerre,” and believed that war would bring them adventure and romance. To-night, with the same thoughtless optimism, they are celebrating release from war, and crying “Vive la paix!” There is the same furious bustle, the same wild cheering, the same disorganized parading, there are the same snatches of the same old song, even a new crop of the same half-drunk boys orating from the same café tables.

The Place de la Concorde was one vast mass of waving flags and wriggling arms and legs this afternoon. Huge trucks piled high with soldiers and girls nosed their honking way inch by inch through the mobs. Swarms of small boys and girls swarmed over the captured cannon. Some of the more adventurous tugged at the smaller field-pieces until they budged and were hauled off in triumph. In one corner a trumpeter tooted while impromptu couples jiggled about in an improvised dancing-circle. Hatless American dough-boys snake-danced through the crowds to that grand old national anthem, “Hail, hail, the gang’s all here,” while puzzled Frenchmen looked on and applauded. A jubilant gray-bearded American Red Cross officer, perilously perched on the cornice of the Red Cross headquarters, waved French and American flags over the heads of the crowds with precarious fervor. On the boulevards, in the Rue de Rivoli, all through the newer business part of Paris—cheering, bustling crowds; and the roar of their cheering. Just one group of people stood unmoving and silent—the line waiting their turn before the office of permits for the liberated regions. A big sign over the door read, “(Return to) Lille and Roubaix still forbidden.” That was one Paris. Perhaps it was *the* Paris. But I noticed that it was only the Americans who were twisting rattlers and howling like schoolboys on election night or after a football game; that more than half the French people on the boulevards were quietly parading and watching the foreigners celebrate. And I noticed that the workingmen’s quarters were modestly beflagged, but dark and silent—as in August, 1914.

In Trade-Union Hall, at the end of an alley in the dirty workingmen’s quarter where every one of France’s four revolutions has had its birth, there had been a Socialist and labor meeting on Sunday afternoon, November 10. It was open

only to those who could show a Socialist party card or a union card, but three thousand workingmen and women squeezed into the hall, and the court behind the hall was packed with more of them, straining to catch the speakers' words. The idols of French labor were there—Jean Longuet, leader of the French Socialist Party, grandson of Karl Marx, the personification of the Internationale; Marcel Cachin, the sturdy editor of *L'Humanité*; Loriot, of the extreme left wing of the party; Jouhaux, the burly leader of the General Federation of Labor—the Gompers of France, but working hand in hand with the Socialists; Merrheim, the tense little leader of the Metal Workers, who is not an inch over five feet high; and Frossard, the lanky school-teacher from Belfort who is the new secretary of the Socialist Party, a man whose raucous voice reached every one of the straining mob outside the hall. Longuet came in late, with a paper in his pocket. It contained the first communiqué of the German Revolution. Frossard read it out. They made Frossard repeat the good news and then they settled down to listen to the discussion of "The General Situation"—that was the uninviting topic announced—and to the speakers demanding that the proletariat of France insist upon the restoration of civil liberties, that France guard the spirit as well as the letter of Wilson's fourteen points, and that the counter-revolutionary movement in governmental circles be resisted. Once the name of Clemenceau was mentioned, and the hall burst into boos and hisses and catcalls. For the proletariat of France does not love the grand old man who has so often broken his pledges.

They poured out at dusk and streamed through the ineffective cordon of policemen in the street outside, howling the Internationale at the top of their lusty lungs. "To the Place de la République," someone shouted; and the thousands started toward the scene of many past labor demonstrations. "Cle-men-ceau: Boo! Hoo! Cle-men-ceau: Boo! Hoo!" they shouted to mark time—and to win breath for more choruses of the Internationale. "Vive la révolution allemande," they cried to the throngs on the sidewalks and in the windows looking down. "Long live the German Revolution," the cry echoed back—and hundreds more joined the parade. Three little black-shawled widows scurrying in the opposite direction did not stop their hurry home, but threw back their heads and joined in the Internationale as they pushed through the fringe of the crowd. Not one voice in opposition!

Three times the police tried to stop the crowd, but it filtered on; and all that the police could do was to stop the singing for half a block. Behind the police and in front of them the swelling strains of the song surged on. The crowd emerged into the lighted boulevards where taxis were worrying to and fro and trolley-cars clanking back and forth. It hesitated for a moment, then pushed on toward the Place de la République. Police reserves came bicycling in, dismounted and dashed into the crowd. They cuffed every one; they cuffed me; they cuffed the American girl with me—though she was more indignant than bruised. The crowd had hesitated and was lost. It broke before the blows of the policemen, and slipped back into its own dark byways.

Two Parises. Which is the real Paris? I do not know. But this I do know—that he who would know the future of France will read it, not on the boulevards of Paris, but in the smoke and grime of the belching chimneys of Lyons and St. Etienne, in the sordid waste of the industrial suburbs of Paris, and in the dark by-ways to which that crowd retired.

LEWIS S. GANNETT

II. Election Issues and the Conference

London, December 4

IT is only to the younger generation that there can be any novelty in an election turning on international issues. The famous contest of 1880 gave the verdict of the country on the challenge of Gladstone's Midlothian campaign to the foreign policy of Lord Beaconsfield. The present election is ostensibly brought about by the need of a popular pronouncement on international problems of even greater importance. It was necessary, the Prime Minister told us, in order that he might have a clear title to speak for the country at the peace conference. In his address to his Liberal supporters on November 12 he said that one of the principal issues at the forthcoming general election would be the nature of the peace settlement. At the Central Hall meeting on November 16 which marked the opening of his election campaign he explained the necessity of the election as due to the fact that the existing Parliament was moribund, and that a new mandate was therefore required in order that "somebody" might go to the peace conference "with authority from the people of this country to speak in their name." The same urgency was emphasized in the electoral manifesto of the Coalition issued on November 21. It was essential, the manifesto declared, that a fresh Parliament should be summoned, possessed of the authority, which a general election alone could give it, to make the peace of Europe. "It is right," it continued, "that the Government upon whom it devolves, in conjunction with our Dominions and our Allies, to settle the political future of Europe, should be supported by the confidence of the vast body of newly enfranchised citizens." In every defence, in short, made by the Prime Minister against objectors to the dissolution of Parliament, the foremost place was given to the necessity of a general election to strengthen his hands at the Peace Conference.

What, then, would have been the natural course of an election thus introduced? One would have expected that the very first thing a Prime Minister would do in such a situation would be to set before the country a definite programme for which he invited its support. If he thought it inexpedient to discuss the minutiae of complicated questions—concerning territorial readjustments, for instance—he would at least lay down the fundamental principles according to which he proposed "to settle the political future of Europe." If you agree with me, he would say, "then show your approval at the polls; if you disagree, make your disapproval equally plain by your votes. Before I go to Versailles, give me an unmistakable sign whether or not I have a popular backing for the policies I shall there be advocating."

Strange to say, no such appeal has been made to the opinion of the nation. In his Central Hall speech, after laying stress on the fact that somebody must go to the conference with authority to speak for the country, the Prime Minister was as silent as a Trappist monk about his peace policy, but went on to speak at length about industrial reform, transportation, and other reconstruction problems. Similarly, the official Coalition manifesto, having mentioned, in the briefest terms, the formation of a league of nations as part of the official policy, promptly bade good-by to all international questions and proceeded to expound the Coalition proposals as to land for returning soldiers, increased manufacturing and agricultural produc-

tion, and so on. The first speech of the Prime Minister's electoral campaign in the country was given at Wolverhampton on November 23. In the whole of this long address there was not a word about international problems. Mr. Lloyd George discussed one domestic reconstruction question after another and then declared: "Well, that is the programme."

This amazing silence on what had been officially pronounced to be the chief issue of the election might have been excused, though scarcely justified, if the Government, before the decision to dissolve Parliament had been taken, had made a full and adequate statement of its international policy. But nothing of the kind has ever been made public. There have been sporadic utterances by individual Ministers on particular questions, e. g., the future of the German colonies, but no responsible declaration by the Government as a whole. The main subjects to be dealt with at Versailles have never been threshed out in Parliament. The functions and composition of a league of nations, for instance, have not once been debated in the House of Commons. One is, perhaps, less surprised at such an omission after learning, from a recent statement by the Australian Premier, that, up to the time the armistice was proposed, even the War Cabinet itself had never specifically considered President Wilson's fourteen points.

Whatever the explanation, the fact is incontestable that the country has been plunged into a general election, ostensibly through the need of a popular verdict on the Government's peace policy, and that it has meanwhile been given little or no light on what that policy is. It is only natural that, in such circumstances, suspicions should arise as to what is really behind it all. Some labor critics have gone so far as to suggest that the real purpose of the election is to divert the public mind to domestic controversies in order that meanwhile the Government may have an opportunity of making its own peace preparations unhampered by criticism. Certainly the election, whatever its motive, will have had the actual result of relieving the Government, for two months or more, from the vigilance that even a feeble Parliament could exercise over its actions. While there is no Parliament in session, there can be no awkward interrogations of Ministers at question time, and no raising of inconvenient controversies on motions for the adjournment. As the campaign has proceeded, this restiveness has spread from the opponents of the Government to its supporters. The Coalition press has begun to demand definite answers on certain points that the official pronouncements had left vague. What is to happen to the ex-Kaiser? Will Germany be made to pay for the war? What is the Government policy with regard to the future of the enemy aliens at present interned? The demand for an answer became so insistent that, in his speech at Newcastle on November 29, the Prime Minister felt compelled to recognize it. He referred to each of these questions, but it can hardly be said that his replies gave complete satisfaction. When, for instance, he declared that "Germany must pay the costs of the war up to the limit of her capacity to do so," the *Daily Mail* immediately protested against the qualification, "up to the limit of her capacity." Why this undeserved tenderness for the Hun? Mr. Lloyd George is learning how much easier it is to arouse national passion than to allay it.

In spite of the common belief that a democracy is incapable of an intelligent interest in foreign affairs, it is, after all, the Labor Party that has shown the deepest con-

cern in the international situation and the keenest appreciation of the larger issues involved in it. Not only in its official manifesto but in the addresses of its candidates, this party has done its best to put a permanent peace in the forefront of the election issues. Labor alone is alive to the fact that, as its manifesto declares, "opposition towards the young democracies of the Continent, and especially intervention on the side of European reaction, will be disastrous." Few people have yet realized the inevitable effect of the new European situation upon the part that British labor must play in foreign politics. In past years, whenever anything has been said about the possibility of a labor Government, objectors have at once pointed to the Foreign Office as a department which it would be absurd to think of placing under the control of a labor Minister. It might be all very well to put a labor man at the head of the Home Office or the Board of Trade, but how could a working man perform the duties of a Foreign Secretary? Could you imagine a Foreign Office reception at which ambassadors representing the bluest blood of the European aristocracy would be guests of a labor leader? Would you propose to appoint labor men to foreign embassies, and expect them to hold their own in the court circles and fashionable salons of the Continental capitals? All these difficulties are now out of date. When diplomatic relations are resumed with Russia and Germany and Austria, the chancelleries of those countries will be found occupied by Socialists, and the men most competent to transact business with them will be drawn not from Mayfair, but from the factory and the workshop. The social revolution in Europe will soon be found to have done more for the reform of the British Foreign Office than has been accomplished by all the Royal Commissions that have patiently listened to evidence from the diplomatic service and laboriously compiled their recommendations and reports.

HERBERT W. HORWILL

Washington Correspondence

A Suggestion for Open Diplomacy

Washington, December 23

IT was Israel Zangwill, I think, who said that if the war had reduced to silence the suffragettes, it had at any rate, given the men a brand-new slogan: "Votes for Men—in foreign affairs." That is merely Zangwill's way of saying "open diplomacy" and of making it mean something. If the men of Europe and the United States had been fully enfranchised in foreign affairs, does anybody believe that this war would still have occurred? Nobody that I know of. Popular ratification of a war—or what passes conventionally for it—comes afterwards and, as Mark Twain has pointed out, only after the "statesmen" responsible for it have made the most strenuous and calculated efforts to secure it. John Doe and Richard Roe, those two most litigious figures, can, and do, take out all their pugnacity on each other in the courts; nobody has yet found them voting in a referendum for war.

But if it is rural and provincial to talk about a "referendum on war"—and I admit, hastily, that it is—there remains nevertheless at least one phase of this question of democratic control of foreign affairs which can not be so easily ruled out of court. Perhaps I can put it in this way: Back in the old days—say in President Grant's Administra-

tions—the relationship between business and the Government was informal in the extreme. I use the word “informal” because it is a nice word, but the facts I am thinking of were not nice facts—quite the contrary. When an American business enterprise wanted to get something for nothing from the Government, it came down here to Washington and approached the Government by the back door.

How did we go about it to clean up that situation? We forced American business enterprises to approach the Government formally, and usually with a written statement of what they wanted and why they wanted it. We established, first in one area and then in another, commissions like the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Federal Trade Commission, and we made it exceedingly bad form for any business enterprise to approach the Government, in these particular areas, except formally and with a written record for all men to see. I think I am well within the facts when I say that the only part of our Government in which this formalizing process has made absolutely no progress whatsoever is in the area dealing with the tremendously important relationship between American business and capital on the one side and foreign affairs on the other.

Really it gives you a very queer sensation to haunt the State Department when once you have this historical perspective in mind. You stroll up and down the halls, and you pass doors guarded by colored men and marked with the names and titles of the various secretaries and divisions. Diving into those doors, every half hour or so, are important-looking strangers, sometimes with bulging brief cases, but, as often as not, with the intent look in their eyes of men about to make a careful oral statement. Do you catch that? A careful oral statement. The colored messengers open the doors. Then the doors are closed, and what goes on in the Secretary's office nobody knows. Literally nobody knows, except the Secretary and the visitors.

Now those important-looking strangers want something from the Government. They want our State Department to do something, to “make representations,” to insist on this or that. The course which they press the State Department to take may lead—as it already has done in the Caribbean Sea—to what is practically war by the United States against another country. The course which they urge may lead us, as it has done, to the brink of war with Mexico. The course which they urge may involve us in situations from which, according to the conventional view, there is no escape save in war. And yet nobody knows what they said to the Secretary; nobody knows what feeble reply he may have made; nobody knows the arguments, sound or specious, with which they overbore him. It is all behind closed doors, with the correspondents twiddling their thumbs down in the press room, waiting for the Secretary of State to issue his formal, perfunctory interview for the day. I am not suggesting that anything improper takes place, but I do insist that the whole proceeding is improper and irregular and that when the country wakes up to what is going on, not a voice will be raised in defence of it—not a solitary voice; not even that of the State Department.

Suppose that the Secretary of State announced quite simply that all requests from American business enterprises for action by the State Department would have to be reduced to writing and filed with the Department, and that they would then be taken up at public hearings on Friday afternoons at three o'clock. Let us suppose that the United Fruit Company has a complaint to make or wants some

action taken. Other business enterprises may be opposed to its position. They have a chance to appear and make an argument. Or perhaps the request of the United Fruit Company contravenes some broad policy mapped out for American business by an influential association of importers or exporters, or by the United States Chamber of Commerce, for example. Representatives of those groups have a chance to appear and give the Secretary the benefit of their views. I have chosen highly respectable illustrations because my impression is that there would be few of any other sort, but really it wouldn't hurt the State Department in the slightest to be obliged to reckon with Mr. Moorfield Storey of the Anti-Imperialist League on some particularly outrageous proposal. No, it wouldn't hurt the State Department in the least!

BRIAREUS

An Open Letter to President Wilson

THE following open letter of Romain Rolland to President Wilson, dated at Geneva, November 9, is published in the *Populaire* (Paris) of November 18.

MR. PRESIDENT: The peoples are breaking their chains. The hour which you foresaw and desired is striking. From one end of Europe to the other there is arising among the peoples the determination to recover control of their destinies and to unite in forming a regenerated Europe. Their hands are seeking to clasp across the frontiers. But open chasms of distrust and misunderstanding still lie between them. This gulf must be bridged. The shackles of ancient fatality which bind these peoples to national wars and which for centuries have made them rush blindly into mutual destruction, must be broken. They cannot do it of themselves. They call for help. But to whom can they turn?

You alone, Mr. President, among all those who are charged at the present moment with the doubtful honor of directing the policies of nations, enjoy a universal moral authority. All give you their confidence. Respond to the appeal of these pathetic hopes! Take these out-stretched hands, help them to meet! Help these groping peoples to find their way, to establish the new charter of enfranchisement and union, for the principles of which they are seeking passionately, confusedly!

Think of it! Europe threatens to fall back again into the circles of the Inferno which she has been climbing for five years, sprinkling the way with her blood. In all countries the people lack confidence in the governing classes. At this moment you are still the only person who can speak to all alike—to the masses and the classes in all countries—and be listened to by them; the only one who to-day is able—will you be able to-morrow?—to mediate between them. If this mediation fails, the human masses, disunited, without balance, will almost inevitably be drawn into excesses—the peoples into bloody anarchy and the parties of the old order into bloody reaction. Class wars, race wars, wars between the nations which only yesterday were forming, wars between the nations just formed to-day, blind social convulsions seeking only to satisfy feelings of hatred, greed, and the insane dreams of an hour of life that knows no to-morrow.

Heir of Washington and of Lincoln, take up the cause, not of a party or a people, but of all! Call the representatives of the peoples to a Congress of Humanity! Preside over it with all the authority given you by your high moral conscience and the mighty future of boundless America! Speak, speak to all! The world is hungering for a voice overpassing the frontiers of nations and of classes. Be the arbiter of free peoples! And may the future salute you with the name of Reconciler!

ROMAIN ROLLAND

"Great Possessions"

By FREDERICK PETERSON

The vast rich room is heavy with the breath
Of heaped-up mounds of rare exotic flowers;
There in the pomp and opulence of death
What alabaster silence fills the hours!
It is so still one scarcely hears the feet
Of the slow beggar limping down the street.

In the Driftway

APPARENTLY the passion for heraldry has penetrated clear to Kansas, where the 311th United States Cavalry, stationed at Fort Riley, has adopted a regimental coat-of-arms bewilderingly mediaeval in spirit, though contemporaneous enough in content. This regimental coat of arms, so it is said, was designed by Lieutenant-Colonel Ben H. Dorcy and painted by Lieutenant Marty. Colonel Kirkpatrick's order adopting and explaining the heraldic significance of the blazon would set a Populist to musing. It reads as follows:

Arms.—Impaling the escutcheon of the United States, a fess, or, on a chief, gules, a horse's leg couped below the knee, proper, crushing a mailed fist erased at the wrist, proper. On a base, azure, the conventional figure of Joan of Arc, armored proper, holding in her dexter hand a staff and pennant, argent, mounted on a charger, passant, of the last.

Crest.—The Bartholdi statue of Liberty, proper.

Motto.—*Je le soutiendrai*. On the dexter end of the scroll, gules, the numerals 1780, or, and on the sinister end the numerals 1918, of the last. On a scroll, or, above the crest, the legend 311th Cavalry.

Explanation of the Charges.—The horse's hoof crushing the mailed fist, on a field of red, is indicative of the service for which the regiment has been organized, in assisting in such service as may fall to its lot, in crushing out the principle for which the "Mailed Fist" of Kaiserdom stands. The original significance of a fess is given by some heraldic writers as that of the belt of a knight. It, and the emblematic color, yellow, of the American Cavalry is indicative of the Cavalry service.

The figure of Joan of Arc is emblematic of the Spirit of Modern France and the numerals 1780 on the dexter end of the scroll refer to this charge, as the date when Lafayette brought the French forces to the assistance of the United Colonies, while the numerals 1918 on the sinister end refer to the date of organization of the regiment for the Allied Cause of Democracy.

The motto, *Je le soutiendrai* ("I shall maintain it"), refers to the crest, Liberty.

For Old-World flourish this is rivalled only by that District of Columbia military organization which has recruited itself to full strength by styling itself "The President's Own."

* * * * *

THE train is full of uniforms, khaki and blue. At every station we "cast off," as in the old country dances. An excited bevy of welcoming friends on the platform swarms about the returning soldier and a uniform is lost to sight as the train moves on. The Drifter chats with those who are still on board. The ones who have farthest to go are the keenest to get home, and the California boys can hardly wait

to set foot in "God's country." Those returning to less emotional climes take matters more calmly. The sailors will be glad to doff their blue; their nautical gait looks strangely out of place in little prairie towns, however it may fit the pitch and stagger of the train. They are coming home; in their pockets are their discharge and insurance papers, a clean bill of health, mileage and a month's pay. The adventure is over; some wear the gold chevron of overseas service; some are disappointed that their turn never came, but all think it will be hard to settle back to the old job. They are, of course, of all shades of opinion, but each man seems to bring back only what he took with him. Apparently no new vision has been granted that will help him in the coming days of doubt. Is it only Russia that gives the homegoing soldier helpful literature, suggesting ways in which he may be of use in his village, and methods by which the communities may coöperate? And what inspiration is offered by the old home scenes to the boys who are laying aside their uniforms? Even Emporia basks complacently, outwardly unmoved by the symbolic rôle in the world war assigned it by William Allen White. The Drifter looks vainly for any indication that our fellowship with other lands is strengthened. There is no token of brotherhood, but across that great wide street of a Kansas town he reads this sign:

SPEAK THE AMERICAN LANGUAGE

IF You don't know it—Learn it.
You don't like it—Move out.

* * * * *

YET perhaps one is unduly discouraged as he thinks of the effect of it all on these boys. There are bright spots, too. The highest military decoration in the gift of this government—the Medal of Honor—goes to Lieutenant-Colonel Whittlesey of the Lost Battalion. Over the whole United States, through moving pictures and the press, has travelled the story of his bravery. Only a few months ago his battalion of six hundred men was surrounded in the Argonne Forest by a superior force of Germans. The Americans were without food and without support. Whittlesey, when commanded to surrender, told the Germans to "go to hell," and led back to our lines in safety two hundred of his men. Now the Drifter reads that this same young man a few evenings since spoke at the Sixty-ninth Regiment Armory in New York, and that instead of appearing in full uniform with his medals broadly displayed, he came on the platform in civilian dress. "Our men," he said, "are not going to come back hating the Germans. No man who has been in the line facing the Germans will bear any malice toward them. I know if any American infantryman met the Kaiser on the road he would be willing to share his hard-tack with him. This is not a false sentiment." The young officer took pains to point out that over half his men, partners in bravery, were from the lower East Side of New York, where they pushed their carts or made button-holes all day before war snatched them across the sea. Can it be that their leader correctly expresses the feeling with which they are coming back to us? Certain patriots who stayed at home are still repeating, "I tell you the civilized world will not forget the crimes of Germany for fifty years"; and some of our newspapers, whose editors have not been near the firing line, are outdoing themselves in an effort to sustain our war-time animosity toward a thoroughly vanquished foe.

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

The Investor After the War

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I was much interested in reading the article on Foreign Investments After the War, by Mr. William S. Kies, in your second International Relations section. The problem dealt with is one of the very important ones which we must solve if the future stability of international life is to be assured. The article is written by the vice-president of the International Corporation—from the viewpoint of a foreign investor—and contains statements and conclusions which ought not to pass unchallenged.

With Mr. Kies's suggestion that there be international government control of the amount and destination of capital to be invested after the war, I have no quarrel. Such a system would have in it the seed from which could grow an honest and wholesome policy in all foreign investment. The point upon which I take issue with Mr. Kies concerns the protection he wants Governments, and particularly the American Government, to give private investors in foreign fields. He says that bankers of the United States should be free to make both political and non-political loans, and describes political loans as "loans carrying with them port or harbor concessions with powers of administration and the collection of charges; the granting of large areas of land for purposes of exploitation with complete power of control and government; the giving of franchises for the construction of important and strategic railways, conferring upon the lender complete control in the management and administration; and the granting of monopolistic privileges of various kinds."

This remarkable proposal for a reversal of recent American policy means, in other words, that our capitalist exploiters of foreign lands are to be free to obtain a strangle hold on the very life of the countries in which they invest, and that we Americans, upon occasion, are to shed our blood to guarantee profits from their investments! Just one argument is offered in extenuation of this proposal: the peculiar virtue of the United States. Our past history, says the writer, is a guarantee "against any policy of aggression looking towards territorial aggrandizement." What part of our past history, I wonder? Every international war we have fought up to the present has resulted in territorial aggrandizement. Mr. Wilson, indeed, has initiated a policy of non-aggression, and through his treatment of Mexico, in 1913 and 1914, we have regained the confidence of Latin America. But the very essence of Mr. Wilson's Mexican policy was his refusal to guarantee American investments in Mexico. To accept Mr. Kies's proposal would be to go back to where we were before Mr. Wilson placed us in front of the world as a nation which would not use its power to throttle and intimidate weak but growing sister-peoples.

The solution of the problem lies, I believe, in international control of investment in such colonies as those in Africa. The natural resources of these lands must, to be sure, yield their stores to the generality of men; but there should be no profiteering, no taking of loot by exploiting investors. Capital should be provided by Governments through a central agency. Native inhabitants should be adequately paid for all labor performed, and just compensation should be made for lumber and minerals carried out of their lands. This policy would be sound; it would rob no one, and would be just to all.

The colonial problem is only one phase of a bigger problem. Already, lenders are casting greedy eyes upon New Russia. They see there great fields of potentially lucrative investment. But they are not willing to take their chances; they want their Governments to act as policemen and collectors. In China and Latin America, likewise, they see choice fruit ready for plucking—provided, only, that Governments do their part. But it should be a fundamental principle of the league of nations

that no Government shall back up with force or coercion investments of its citizens in foreign lands.

Advances of money to rebuild such devastated regions as Belgium, Poland, and Serbia constitute a special and transient problem. It is my opinion that instead of lending money to the Governments of these territories, the larger and more affluent nations should create a common fund for rebuilding purposes. This should be done voluntarily as a good-will offering for the benefit of humanity at large; moreover, it should not be regarded as a debt, and no repayment should be required or accepted.

I believe that if the investment problem is worked out along these lines, a big step will be taken towards removing the causes of international strife, and we shall be proud, not ashamed, of what we are doing.

RAMON COFFMAN

East Orange, October 24

Who is to Blame?

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: It is to be hoped for the good of a good cause that your correspondent, R. D. Miller, has drawn his conclusions from too few data to make them trustworthy as a whole. I have had opportunities for becoming fairly familiar with about a dozen college administrations and to not more than three or four would Mr. Miller's strictures apply. It is unfortunate that every member of a college faculty is in danger of finding himself between the hell of a board of trustees and the purgatory of a tyrannical president. In both situations the climate is not conducive to comfort, but that of the latter region is at least endurable for the reason that it is fairly uniform. But the government of a board of trustees is more variable than the wind. I have known a board of trustees to dismiss a professor at one meeting and to reinstate him at the next a few weeks later. I have known a board of trustees to grant a professor leave of absence for a year, and six months later to dismiss him. If such a thing had been done by a president the victim could have appealed to the board; under the circumstances he had no redress. There are about six hundred universities and colleges of fairly high rank in this country. There must surely be at the head of more than a majority of them men who are qualified by temperament and character if not by scholarship to occupy their positions. An autocratic president is not the sole cause of trouble in a college faculty. If there is a faculty of twenty or more men in which there are no factions, no cliques arrayed against one another, and no reciprocal jealousies, I have not heard of it. How institutions of higher learning could be administered to deal fairly with all parties concerned is one of the problems yet to be solved. The German universities are nominally administered by the faculty, that is, by the university senate. Nevertheless many instances of injustice have come to light from time to time. The strident champion of fear and hate, Werner Sombart of Berlin, was said to have been foisted on the faculty in defiance of the men whose colleague he was to be. If I were called upon to answer the question: College trustees—are they a boon or a bane or a superfluity? I should have to answer, All three. And I could furnish evidence in support of my triple verdict. It is a question whether the cause of higher education suffers most from the machinations of a scheming president, the unfitness of boards of trustees, or the lack of interest in their work on the part of many of the older professors who are at "ease in Zion" because they are among the *beati possidentes*. The man who can work out and secure the adoption of a plan for the administration of our colleges that will be just to all parties interested and that will also promote the cause of higher education will deserve well not only of the republic but of the world. "Knowledge comes but wisdom lingers."

CHAS. W. SUPER

Athens, O., December 3

The Right of Invasion

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your issue of December 7, Mr. E. S. Smith questions the correctness of my statement in an article in the *Nation* for November 23, that the western powers "have the right through the armistice terms to invade Russia and bring about 'order.'"

Permit me to quote paragraph XVI of the revised armistice terms: "The Allies shall have free access to the territories evacuated by the Germans on their eastern frontier, either through Danzig, or by the Vistula, in order to convey supplies to the population of those territories and for the purpose of maintaining order."

OBSERVER

New York, December 10

Turning the Other Cheek

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your book notes on November 16, you describe William Cullen Bryant's unsuccessful editorial attack upon William L. Stone with a cowhide in 1831. The late William L. Stone, second, once told me the additional detail, that his father called at the *Evening Post* office next morning and returned the whip.

EDWARD P. BUFFET

Jersey City, November 22

"The Damned I. W. W."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I have just laid down the *Nation* of December 7; also the *Christian Science Monitor* of Dec. 9, which has its usual "London dispatches," recounting the "horrors" of Soviet rule in "Darkest Russia," so I'm wondering what the "Bolsheviki" will think of us when they hear of how we manhandle men for the "error" of "conscientious objecting," as I'm also wondering how London can give us so much information on what is taking place in the wilds of Russia and yet seem to be totally ignorant of what is happening in the British Empire? Can you explain this mystery and, if you cannot, can't you persuade the "errorless mind" back of the *Monitor* to throw some light into our darkness, so that we be not absolutely at the mercy of the "errors of mortal mind"?

Also I have just finished a recent issue of the *New Republic*, wherein it is fully explained why the Southern Confederacy was all wrong, which, even though I am the son of a Confederate soldier, I will not deny, yet I do deny emphatically that the capitalist class of the North ever freed the Negroes or conferred democracy on us "po' white trash" or anybody else anywhere.

That reference to "po' white trash" is not historically correct, for I am the grandson of a slaveholder, but what I do want to assert is, that my grandmother and her fellow slaveholders never treated and never allowed others to treat, their slaves as inhumanly and brutally as the unskilled workers are treated in the lumber, steel, textile and other industries to-day; and for the simple reason that my grandmother paid \$1,500 in gold for the last slave she bought, in November, 1859. And though they might have whipped a rebellious slave, there is no record of their ever having inflicted on them the atrocious inhumanities that have been and are being inflicted upon the I. W. W. prisoners now held in the terrible jails at Wichita, Kan., and Sacramento, Cal. Then, the slaves of that day had one great advantage over those of this extremely "democratic" era—they were not educated, so my grandmother's class did not have to fill infernos with poets, organizers, and great humanitarians like Debs in defence of their national interests. They, the old aristocrats, were not hypocrites. The clansmen, even, were at least brave men, for, when they "rode the night," they took their lives in

their hands, for they rode against all the powers-that-be, which was an entirely different act from that committed by the masked curs who, at Tulsa, Okla., so shamelessly outraged seventeen defenceless I. W. W. men.

"The damned I. W. W.," they call them, but now, as 2,000 years ago, the moral victory seems to be with "the damned" and not with the "respectable." How bankrupt must "Christian civilization" be when violence becomes its last and only answer to the disinherited of earth! Yours for the "liberty of man, woman, and child: white, black, red, brown, and yellow; allies and enemies."

COVINGTON HALL

Dallas, Texas, December 12

Our Place in the Sun

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Never has any nation had such a golden opportunity to obtain a higher place in history as the savior of nations, rather than their destroyer, than the United States. In all history no nation has ever risen to such a sublime height.

We do not, and cannot, understand the people of Europe. Their ways are not our ways; and to remain among them in any other capacity than as mere private citizens would tend to undo all the good that we have accomplished. Europe has again and again risen from destructive wars; and for us now to tell them how to build over and to live would be the height of presumption. To withdraw quietly without interfering with the re-making of these injured countries would reassure the countries of South America that we have no other design upon them than a friendly and neighborly one. This would tend to strengthen our relation with our southern neighbors, which at present is not any too strong. It would take the place of the Monroe Doctrine, which now seems to have been tacitly abandoned.

This opportunity to gain the friendship of the peoples of the world—to show that we mean well by all; that we stand always for the rights of man—should not be lost.

H. T. MILLER

Springfield, O., November 18

Imperialistic Democracy in Japan

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Since I wrote to you the other day on the subject of "Imperialistic Democracy in Japan," another significant utterance has appeared in print. It was written by my young friend, Mr. Akimoto, who is on the staff of the *Japan Advertiser*, Tokio, and appeared in the columns of that journal on the Emperor's birthday, October 31. The whole article was written in honor of that occasion; and from the article, I quote the following paragraphs on the above-mentioned special theme:

"No country in the world is in enjoyment of a more peaceful and happy reign than Japan, and the people cannot be too grateful to the gods for having at the head of the nation one whose only and strongest concern in life is to promote the welfare and happiness of the people. The world today is in the inevitable process of being democratized, and Japan cannot stand the sole exception to the rule that controls all the nations.

"But if Japan is to be democratized, it will be and must be under the centralizing influence of the Mikado. There must be a centre of gravitation upon which things political must revolve, and in Japan we cannot think of a more stable centre than the Mikado. He is the high priest as well as the ruler. The Mikado is a sacred institution, like unto religion in the West. How can you rule a people without religion? The question can only be intelligently answered by saying that Mikado-reverence is Japanese religion."

ERNEST W. CLEMENT

Tokio, November 6

BOOKS

William Winter's Life of Mr. Belasco

The Life of David Belasco. By William Winter. New York: Moffat, Yard & Company. \$10.

THE disparity between the bulk of these two large and handsome volumes and the importance of their subject would have been very conspicuous had they contained nothing but a record of the life and labors of David Belasco, remarkable as these are in their way. Actually they comprise an immense amount of biographical and critical matter which is a most substantial addition to the copious and authoritative history of the American stage to be found in Mr. Winter's earlier publications. Virtually they are entirely his work. The few gaps which he left have been filled in by his son, Jefferson Winter, with notable discretion, and the total of these supplementary notes (duly marked by brackets) is so small that it may be said to detract nothing from the completeness of the original. This posthumous production of the famous critic, though he wrote it while struggling against sickness and old age, reveals no trace of failing zeal or intellectual power. In vigor and eloquence of expression, laborious minuteness and accuracy of detail, solidity of erudition, fervor of admiration, and vehemence of protest, it will compare favorably with any of its predecessors. The melodious fluency of his style, with its varying flavors of pleasant or pungent humors, exercises all its old charm.

There can be no doubt that he has accomplished a most remarkable and deeply interesting study of David Belasco both as manager and as man. It is equally obvious that he has written throughout under the influence of profound personal admiration and friendship, which, it may be added, the indisputable facts in the case largely justify. The limits of this review preclude the possibility of even the briefest synopsis of a career which may, without exaggeration, be called, in many respects, extraordinary. Briefly, it is the immensely instructive story of an absolutely self-made man; of a poor boy, starting in life amid circumstances of every imaginable difficulty and discouragement, inspired by a passionate love of the theatre; persisting, with indomitable tenacity and energy, in seeking and maintaining connection with it in every conceivable capacity; doing anything and everything by which he could gain means of food and lodging; always studying and working and often starving, but ever making slow headway, until at last he was recognized as a general utility man of positive value. Even then years of unremunerative drudgery in wild, western barn-storming awaited him, until his ability as stage-manager, hack-adaptor, useful actor, and keen business man was widely acknowledged. It is a tale well worth the reading, and of very high credit to the subject of it, who is lucky, indeed, to have found so industrious and sympathetic a chronicler. But it must be read in Mr. Winter's pages. Only the clear moral of it can be noted here, and that is that Belasco's success in later life, his present undisputed primacy in certain lines of theatrical production, is due to the fact that he first educated himself in every phase of his profession. He distanced his rivals because, more than any of them, he knew his business.

Nothing is more notable in Belasco's career, or more illustrative of his courageous self-reliance, than the story of his prolonged and ultimately victorious fight with the Theatrical Trust, of which Mr. Winter was always a sturdy and inveterate foe. The latter was, probably, partly prompted to undertake this biography by the thought of the opportunity it would afford him of a practical demonstration of the purposes, methods, and effects of this grasping, unscrupulous, and incalculably mischievous organization. His exposition, fortified by precise and attested facts—although it contains nothing absolutely new—constitutes as unanswerable an indictment as ever was penned and should be studied by every one interested in the true causes of the

progressive decay of theatrical art. It is not easy to overestimate the value of the successful struggle which Belasco waged in favor of that independent competition which it was the object of the Trust to crush. He won because the entertainments which he alone could provide, and which he refused to share upon the terms of the monopoly, were so popular and profitable that his opponents realized the folly of excluding them from their houses—of which he no longer stood in absolute need—when they might share in his prosperity. But it must not be overlooked that in coming to an amicable agreement with them, without sacrificing his own independence, he nevertheless associated himself with a system which, so far as the best interests of the theatre are concerned, is radically pernicious.

Not every student of the theatre will agree with Mr. Winter's high estimate of Mr. Belasco's contribution toward the reformation of the modern stage in ranking him with the great managers of the past, Phelps, Wallack, Irving, Daly, and others. What he has done, since the maturity of his success, he has done, for the most part, superlatively well, and he has reaped legitimate reward. Many of his plays have been meritorious, some indifferent, some bad. He has produced no literary or dramatic masterpieces. Nor has he—notwithstanding his creation of "stars"—helped to increase the number of first-rate actors. Mr. Winter says that he is meditating a series of elaborate Shakespearean revivals. Let us hope that he will put the project into speedy execution. There is every reason for believing, in view of his earlier experiences, that he is capable of brilliant achievement in this direction. But until he has essayed some higher flights in drama than he has yet attempted he can only be accounted the ablest of strictly modern stage-managers and producers.

The Pilgrims

The Pilgrims and Their History. By Roland G. Usher. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$2.

MR. USHER'S account of the Pilgrims is to be considered rather as the "fifth of a series of related monographs," than as the real history of a community of human beings with ordinarily sensitive souls. It is certainly not a satisfactory sketch of a movement, in which all the recorded facts or vital influences are kept in view. A careful reading of the volume reveals rather the author's adherence to a preconceived theory. Professor Usher tells us what has been recovered from the writings of a few persons in and out of the Pilgrim Company; but apparently carefully excludes from court any evidence that might militate against the theory that the American Commonwealth is an essentially Anglo-Saxon nation. His chief object seems to be to keep constantly in view the legend of unmixed English culture in the formation of the American people.

Of the author's industry along certain narrow lines, there can be no question. Of one set of documents he has made use, so far as they confirm his theory. He opens his story in the old Manor house at Scrooby. He declares that there was no persecution, by either church or state, of these Separatists, later called Pilgrims. The forces that prompted emigration were, in his view, only the naggings and reproaches of neighbors, who disliked the claim made to higher ideals and practice of life. Nor were the Pilgrims roughly treated by the magistrates before reaching Holland. It was the unofficial mob that was cruelly hostile. Of their environment among the Dutch, we have scarcely more than a ghostly account. It is declared that the emigration to America was a less important point in the Pilgrim movement than the fact of their economic independence, achieved in 1627. By this they demonstrated that even poor men could maintain an existence in the American wilderness, and thus they inspired others to follow their example.

As to proportions, one-third of the volume is devoted to the time previous to the voyage. There is scarcely anything definite

about Holland, of its people, the political and theological forces and influences directly affecting the Pilgrims during a most intense period—except about “the hardness of life” there. Six more chapters tell of Plymouth previous to the year of economic deliverance. Another third of the book, based almost entirely upon what Bradford chose to tell, details the work of this leader and relates the fortunes of the colony after his death. The chapter on social life reminds one of a treatise on snakes in Iceland.

Mr. Usher's diligence in threshing out the scanty materials in English is beyond all praise, but he leaves us to infer that the Separatists were virtually immune to all influences of environment and that in the three countries of their abode they held always and unswervingly to the narrow ideal which he thinks was theirs. He rightly criticises those writings on the Pilgrims in which panegyric prevails, or in which genealogy swamps the narrative. The number of people in the Leyden church has been persistently exaggerated, and Mr. Usher's statements as to numbers are accurate. In his view, apparently, all the Leyden Pilgrims were exclusively English, had only English ideals, and, in their aloofness, were ever Separatists of the most radical sort. He avers that they were not merely “the progenitors of a tiny state, but the ancestors of a nation.”

But if we examine the foundations for his narrative and the theory which dominates it, we find a book of notable and damaging limitations. We wonder at such abnormal human beings as he pictures. Most of the actual emigrants from Holland to America lived in a federal republic in one of the liveliest industrial centres in Europe, at a time when controversies over theology, politics, and economics excited all classes. How could any people be so insensitive as to learn little or nothing? The author's favorite authorities are the Dexters, father and son; both of whom, in the study of Pilgrim history and character, from frequent conversations on these very themes, were singularly blind to anything not English. In temper and attitude, they followed the Hon. George Sumner, who as pioneer of Americans in investigations in Holland seemed to wear blinders to non-English influences. Mr. Usher's most important conclusions are frequently reached only, as he says, “by elaborate inference and deduction from indirect evidence”—that is, the evidence that buttresses his ideas; while he throws out of court that which may militate against them. We imagine that his statement (p. 189), which to our mind, even after reading his book, seems self-contradictory, that the Pilgrim movement was “always a disruptive tendency rather than a coherent force,” is a fair example of his method.

Throughout this book we have, in addition to what is a scholarly but one-sided narrative, a polemic supporting a theory elaborated in New England which has too long dominated our text books. The eastern portion of the United States is responsible for the vast bulk of our historiography. Because of its sectional, one-sided, and defective character this is largely rejected by those who, though of Separatist descent and possessing a knowledge of the documents of their own English progenitors, have yet studied Continental origins and forces in the making of the American Commonwealth. One cannot justly set forth either the Puritan or the Pilgrim movement without taking into account the influences flowing from the Continent, where charters of liberties were general and where, as in the case of Switzerland and the Netherlands, there were successful federal republics. The people of the Reformed faith, who, from the Swiss cantons and the Low Countries, swarmed into England by the scores of thousands, moved especially among those humbler classes, between whom and the dignitaries of state, church, and university, there was little mutual knowledge or sympathy. They carried their ideas of religion, government, society, and the relations of employer and employed into England. Yet few who read Mr. Usher's monograph would ever suspect that there were thousands of Anabaptists, whose doctrines were similar to those of the Separatists, not only near Norwich, where Robinson labored, but also in the north of Eng-

land. Nor would the reader learn that there were five or six nationalities represented in the Pilgrim company, many of whom were in sympathy and harmony with the French, Walloon, Scotch, and even Dutch churches. Nor would he realize the many things, not then known in the British Isles, which were borrowed by the Pilgrims directly from the Dutch, as the writings of both Pilgrims and Puritans show. In fact, as we read Bradford, Winslow, the “Old Clothes Controversy,” and the Dutch documents, we get a very different view of the life of the Pilgrims at Leyden, between 1610 and 1620, which was probably the formative period in their development. The most exciting questions of city and national government, of state right and national supremacy in a federal republic, as well as of theology during these most critical years, were being debated by voice and pen on the public streets of Leyden during the time of the Pilgrim's stay. We get from Mr. Usher little or no idea of the tolerance and genuine sweetness of temper that marked these people—made Separatists and called Brownists, not wholly of their own choice; nor do we learn why they espoused so earnestly the Calvinistic or national side in Dutch politics and theology. The Separatist in Holland was a man of his century, but sensitive also to other influences than those native and inherited, and he helped powerfully to bring to these shores those elements which, not existing in the England of his time, have made us in many respects so un-English.

If this latest work on the Pilgrims represents modern critical scholarship, then there is still room for improvement in our historiography. Indeed, we may well ask whether any trustworthy history of the Pilgrims can be written without a thorough knowledge of Dutch history and of the reality of the influence of the Protestant refugees in England, from 1567 to 1600. To take only what Bradford and his colleagues chose to say, or thought necessary to emphasize, is to gain but a one-sided view of what interests all Americans, and especially those who have knowledge of both our composite ancestry and our manifold social and political debt to the old lands of culture. In view of his own claims, we do not consider that Mr. Usher has fully and fairly used even the testimony of Winslow and other contemporaries. Between the monographs of writers like the late Douglas Campbell, the champion of non-English culture and the Dutch side of the question, and Dr. Henry M. Dexter, who could see only sectarian Congregationalism in the Pilgrim movement, it is still possible to avoid extremes.

Behind the Scenes at Constantinople

Ambassador Morgenthau's Story. By Henry Morgenthau. New York. Doubleday, Page & Company. \$2.

THE propriety of such books as this of Mr. Morgenthau's is clearly open to question. It is a not unhuman quality in the plain American citizen who, for the first time in his life, has been thrust before kings and has been walking in high places, to tell of his extraordinary experiences in the whirl of great events. The war enormously increased such opportunities, and rendered practically irresistible the temptation to publicity. Some of our Ambassadors have squeezed publicity to the last drop, scorning not even the lecture platform and the moving-picture film. Mr. Morgenthau has limited himself to telling his story, though, like Mr. Gerard, he purports to reveal important diplomatic secrets, conversations with von Wangenheim, former German Ambassador at Constantinople, Talaat, Enver, and Djemal, proving what we have had proved over and over again, that Germany started the war, that the Young Turks are unbelievably ruthless and brutal, and that the Franco-British navy might have captured the Dardanelles had the bombardment been kept up another day.

The real question to be faced is this: Are such revelations as the present either right or expedient, whatever the motive actuating them? The difference between conducting open diplo-

macy and shouting confidential conversations from the house-tops must be recognized. Unless a certain amount of mutual confidence exists between envoys of various nations accredited to the same capital, all free and open discussion becomes impossible. Von Wangenheim, who was German Ambassador at Constantinople during part of Mr. Morgenthau's stay, would certainly not have talked so freely about his presence at the famous, or rather infamous, Potsdam conference of July, 1914, or his relations to the Turks, or his Government's interest in bringing about an early peace, had he known that his words would be quoted against him and his Government in all the four quarters of the globe. Nor would Enver, or Talaat, or Djemal ever have spoken with absolute openness about the Armenian and Greek persecutions, and their reasons for maltreating civilians and prisoners, had they imagined that their words would be published at the convenience of their former colleague. Of course all the diplomats knew that Mr. Morgenthau would report in detail to his own Government everything that he heard, saw, or suspected, but that is a different matter from informing the world at large, and the publication of the present book inevitably suggests a contrast with the conduct of the diplomats of the Entente. Neither Sir Louis Mallet nor M. Bompard, nor Ambassador Giers, who represented England, France, and Russia, respectively, at the Porte until Turkey took sides with Germany, has courted publicity. The Italian Ambassador, who remained at Constantinople until Italy went into the war, has been equally discreet.

The contents of Mr. Morgenthau's book, all questions of taste and the professional code aside, have considerable interest. He represented about ten belligerent nations at the Porte, and therefore had some extremely difficult work of detail. His was the task of saving the subjects of belligerent nations from Turkish vindictiveness. The Turk is not given to steady grinding cruelty. He commits deeds of violence by fits and starts. When caught in the act, he behaves like a spoiled child, turns obstinate and sulky, and, if hard-pressed, finally yields. Mr. Morgenthau's first serious difficulty came in getting out those persons who wanted to leave with the French, Russian, and English Ambassadors at the outbreak of the war. The Turkish officials put every obstacle in his path, but finally, when he insisted, Bedri Bey, the villain of the piece, gave in with bad grace. Thereafter the persecution somewhat subsided until the British began their attack on the Dardanelles. Then, at once, the Turks made an assault on all enemy alien subjects, and conceived the magnificent idea of exposing more than three thousand of them to the British and French guns. But by dint of energy and many threats Mr. Morgenthau succeeded in having the number of hostages reduced to fifty, who went to Gallipoli under the charge of a courageous American Embassy secretary, Mr. Hoffman Philip, and after a week returned in fairly good health.

In one important enterprise Mr. Morgenthau failed: he was unable to prevent the Armenian massacres. His account of how this most terrible crime in history came to be perpetrated is vivid and moving. He tells of the pretext of a revolution at Van, of the murder of unarmed Armenian troops, and of caravans of starved, exhausted women and children deported to destruction. The dreadful story has been told again and again. Even the responsibility has already been fixed, not only on the Turks, but also on the Germans for their Pilate attitude. We need no reminder of the 18,000 people who left Harpoot and the 150 survivors who arrived in Aleppo. The question really is, did Mr. Morgenthau do everything humanly possible to prevent these terrible outrages? He says in one place: "Technically, of course, I had no right to interfere. According to the cold-blooded legalities of the situation, the treatment of Turkish subjects by the Turkish Government was a purely domestic affair." Nevertheless he did interfere. He appealed to both Talaat and Enver, and to the German Ambassador. He got no satisfaction from any of them. On an earlier occasion, when the Turks were threatening persecution of enemy aliens, "they [the persecuted people] made all kinds of impossible suggestions: I should

resign my ambassadorship as a protest: I should even threaten Turkey with war by the United States." In the case of the 3,000 enemy aliens he succeeded by negotiations. In the case of the 800,000 Armenians he failed. Should he not have asked his own Government for the right to threaten; and in the event of refusal to grant his request should he not have resigned "as a protest," and gone home and raised a storm about the ears of our own Government and that of the Turks? The latter, as everybody who knows them will admit, would never have faced final consequences. At that time neither they nor the Germans wanted us in the conflict, nor did they desire to add to the burden of ill-will that they already bore. Moreover, the Turks are not made of the stuff to stand up against real courage and audacity. Mr. Morgenthau should have staked all upon one throw.

However, it may be too much to expect the superman in every Ambassador. No doubt Mr. Morgenthau's chief advisers at the Embassy had not the greatness of outlook to visualize action on such an exalted scale. As it was, in all other respects Mr. Morgenthau proved an excellent, efficient Ambassador, and gained considerable popularity in Turkey, even with the Young Turks. When he left, reports of what he was supposed to have said on his way home and after his arrival there roused considerable animosity against him and endangered some of the subject populations.

His book just published contains a very interesting record, but for insight into the real near-Eastern question and the defects of Ottoman rule it cannot be taken as a very profound or serious document. The style, however, is excellent—clear, crisp, and precise—and displays the veteran journalist's hand.

Two Irish Essayists

Anglo-Irish Essays. By John Eglinton. New York: John Lane Company. \$1.25.

Appreciations and Depreciations. By Ernest A. Boyd. New York: John Lane Company. \$1.25.

WHEREAS the Irish literary renaissance of recent years has given to the world at least half a dozen dramatists and poets of international reputation, and two or three novelists of distinguished literary quality, hitherto only a single critic and essayist of the first rank has emerged, and his pen has been remarkably frugal. Almost, one might say, by stealth did "John Eglinton" (W. K. Magee) publish his three thin volumes: "Two Essays on the Remnant" (1895), "Pebbles from a Brook" (1901), and "Bards and Saints" (1906), the contents of which had earlier appeared in obscure and comparatively inaccessible periodicals. Now for the first time, in "Anglo-Irish Essays," the essayist addresses himself to an ampler audience on both sides of the Atlantic. According to Mr. Magee the modern Irishman is he "who accepts as a good European the connection with Great Britain, and yet feels himself to be far more distinct from the Anglo-Saxon than he is from the mere Irishman." The Anglo-Irish, the author is sure, being "the superiors of all the world" in their spiritual emancipation and freedom from intellectual prepossessions, make ideal cosmopolitans. To English literature, for example, they have made no mean contribution, and have asked no special credit for it, just as "they have made a present to the Mere Irish of the stand they made for their liberties in the eighteenth century." Throughout these essays the standpoint is that of the Anglo-Irishman as described and, one may say, typified by Mr. Magee—detached, unconventional, passionately lucid.

Possibly the most interesting and useful of the specifically literary essays is the succinct and beautifully balanced summary of the progress of Irish letters in English which is set forth in "Irish Books." Mr. Magee's praise of Carleton's autobiography, edited by the late D. J. O'Donoghue—"perhaps the most interesting of all Irish books"—should send many a reader to those

fascinating pages. In "St. Patrick on the Stage" there is a vivid account of the visit to Dublin in 1635 of James Shirley, poet and dramatist, and of his curious miracle play, "St. Patrick for Ireland." Under more favorable circumstances this might have been the starting-point of that school of Irish drama for which, in the sequel, the world had so long to wait. In a later essay dealing with Thomas Moore's controversial "Travels of an Irish Gentleman," the author mentions the "Second Travels," a little-known but immensely interesting counterblast from the pen of that eccentric and scholarly exile from the Oriel common-room, Blanco White.

In such essays, however, as "The Island of the Saints" and "The Grand Old Tongue," the writer is likely to cut athwart the susceptibilities of more than a few of his readers. In the first of these essays his thesis is that the Island of Saints is a misnomer: that the "saints" of St. Patrick's Island were "chiefly converted bards in whose way of life"—the author significantly observes—"it did not at first make so very much difference to become saints. . . . The sacred and remote places of Druidism continued to be the sacred places of the monks who had supplanted the old magic with the magic of baptism and the Psalter." He quotes the disturbing caption of one of Giraldus Cambrensis's chapters: "That the saints of this country appear to have been of a vindictive temper." "Celtic Ireland," Mr. Magee uncompromisingly concludes, "is that country which throughout its whole history has never produced a saint, understanding by the word a religious genius." Mr. Magee is the spiritually emancipated Anglo-Irishman with a vengeance. Here is the final sentence of the same essay: "It was only . . . when Ireland began to be affected indirectly by the Reformation that it became the pious nationality we know." In "The Grand Old Tongue" rather ponderous fun is poked at the Gaelic Language Revival. This paper is dated 1901; the passage of seventeen years has wrought many changes. For one thing, at any rate, Mr. Magee deserves unstinted praise: this is a book of most beautiful prose.

In "Appreciations and Depreciations," Ernest A. Boyd publishes a further instalment of his acute and stimulating studies in contemporary Irish letters. This volume contains six essays on the work of Standish O'Grady, "Æ," "John Eglinton," Lord Dunsany, Bernard Shaw, and Edward Dowden. Particularly valuable are the estimates of "Æ" and of Shaw; indeed, the study of Shaw's "Protestantism" seems the most illuminating word thus far spoken on that subject. But over Dunsany's mythological embroideries the writer is unduly enthusiastic; and in the concluding essay, wherein he attempts to measure Edward Dowden according to his relation to the Irish literary movement, Mr. Boyd blames that distinguished professor and critic for being himself and not some one else—at least that is what the argument appears to amount to. That Dowden was not—in his own phrase—ambitious of intensifying his intellectual or spiritual brogue, one immediately admits. But with the intellectual movements of the outside world he kept Ireland in touch, and his fine culture served the progress, and constantly acted as a corrective, of the insular tendencies of the Irish youth who sat at his feet or read what he wrote. Dowden was one kind of Irishman; but Mr. Boyd intransigently decides that he failed to be any kind of Irishman. And it is surely unfair to accuse a great literary critic of preferring musical comedy to Synge's *Playboy* on the strength of an obviously jocular sentence at the close of an intimate family letter from his pen. Earlier in the same letter, Mr. Boyd should have told the reader, Dowden had placed Synge "in the first rank of tragic poets."

"John Eglinton," towards the close of his sympathetic preface to "The Letters of Edward Dowden and His Correspondents," supplies one explanation of what Mr. Boyd calls Dowden's intellectual isolation in Ireland: "In truth it can hardly be said that Irish nationality hitherto has understood literature, at least in any sense in which Dowden understood the word. . . . His isolation in Ireland symbolizes the incompatibility of Irish nationalism hitherto with the principle of spiritual culture." Mr. Boyd might profitably ponder this utterance.

Two Novels of Source

Birth. By Zona Gale. New York: The Macmillan Company.
Out of the Silences. By Mary E. Waller. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

HERE are two American novels of serious purpose and responsible workmanship. On very different planes of the national life, physical and social experience, they study the sources of character and the springs of action. Miss Gale places her little drama in the customary village setting, with its comic accessories and quaint "character" parts. But in essentials it is a drama that in other terms and with another accent might be played in any other time or place. God's way is never more mysterious than in the apparent triviality of the means through which he often seems to work. This is the story of a human personality of intrinsic worth compounded from the most unlikely materials, and to all appearances, in the most haphazard fashion. A youth travelling in "pickle and fruit products" happened to be canvassing the little town of Borage, Wisconsin, one hot summer day thirty years ago. At two houses he had not ventured to call, a cottage at which a funeral was in progress and a mansion opposite which looked an unlikely market for his wares. Before passing on his forlorn way to other inhospitable towns he forced himself to call at this mansion, chanced to be met at the door by the young mistress of the house, who, happening to pity his wilted insignificant figure, admitted him to the coolness within, to say his say. There, over a glass of iced tea, he met a pretty orphaned girl, who turned out to be the sole mourner from over the way. They are both alone in the world, his heart goes out to her in love and hers to him in gratitude; before he leaves Borage they are betrothed and in a few weeks they are married. In due course, they have a son. Here is matter for a bit of pleasant rustic comedy, with the right ending. For this story's purpose, it is only a foundation. The pair, it seems, are not really mated, no passage of time or community of experience can mate them. The child, born under the seal of the law, is none the less a child of chance. They are all misfits; what can be done with them? Marshall Pitt is and remains a pathetic little ass, loyal-hearted, anxious to please, but hopelessly irritating even to those with the best will towards him. "He's a nice little man," says one of the good-humored women of the neighborhood, "but I declare I can't bear him. I don't know what's the matter with him. But the way he smiles, and steps off, and looks and is and speaks, I could slap him." His wife Barbara, with her shallow mind but not ignoble nature, would love him if she could; but it can't be done. Young Barbara leaves him and his child: she is for the city—for anything but poor Pitt. Miss Arrowsmith, the lady of the mansion, has a yearning for little Jeffrey and takes him over when Pitt sets forth to seek his, or rather the child's, fortune. But her invalid mother, the real tyrant of the mansion, will not have the child. Therefore he is, as it were, sublet to a good earthy motherly neighbor, Mis' Hellie Copper. He grows up a sensitive, imaginative youth, with the makings of an artist, but too little persistency and confidence to follow his first vague lead towards success. That we see him on his right road at last is owing largely to the direct influence of the clumsiest but most devoted of fathers. We find here what we have found before in Miss Gale's work—a marked unevenness in characterization. The same thing is noticeable in Mrs. Wilkins-Freeman. Village scenes and plain village bodies are projected with almost unerring fidelity, but when she tries to paint a gentlewoman or a man of the world her hand falters. Miss Arrowsmith, whom we are called upon to admire with all her faults, at no time succeeds in rising above feebleness and futility. The women at Mrs. Arrowsmith's luncheon-party, who are understood to be traveled and superficially cultivated at least, talk like vulgar schoolgirls "playing society." Mis' Hellie Copper,

and her cronies, and poor silly Barbara, and the child and cub and stumbling youth Jeffrey, are people we know. But it is in Marshall Pitt that the book presents a figure memorable and almost unique, a hero who is a helpless ass, a touching nuisance, a stray mongrel fated to sniff always at the heels of life, with no reward but the inner rewards of love and humility. When in the end he throws away his life in saving Mrs. Arrowsmith's dog, the town credits him with being either a suicide or a plain fool. "Pitt never was much good," is his mildest epitaph. But he lives in the heart of his son.

Miss Waller traces the development of an American personality out of a very different set of sources and conditions. She goes back indeed to the first principles of American life—the child born on the frontier, trained to face the world with a strong heart and his two hands. Her place is a region of the northern Dakotas and the country of the Turtle Mountains just over the Canadian border: "Winter silence is on plain and plateau, on mountain slope, pass and summit, on every butte, in every gulch and gully, on all the river benches below the bluffs. . . . This all-pervading silence is hushed into deeper stillness by the falling snow; and even the deeper stillness, which makes the eardrums of those who hear it ache, is intensified when at intervals it is broken by the howl of the gray wolf, hunger-haunted. . . . There is audible no cry of the human; nevertheless the cry is here, only lost in the vast of a cold-benumbed and snow-smothered land." From an assault of this wintry Death the child Bob is saved at great cost. He becomes the charge of a sturdy frontiersman, and is reared in a lonely cabin of the Turtle Mountains. The man Bill Plunkett is full of the homely lore of the wilderness, and armed with a philosophy wrought at first hand out of experience. For his further education the boy has a torn copy of the Bible and the wisdom of the old Medicine Man who is virtual head of a tribe of Crees that has not yet been driven out of these remote forests by the white man. The lad's natural mysticism is nourished by contact with this noble old savage, Carmastic. At the crisis of boyhood he chooses to undergo the ordeal of fasting, which is the Indian equivalent of the ancient ceremonial of qualifying for knighthood. Half out of the body, he dreams his dream and gets his own personal "medicine," the secret symbol which is to guide him on his quest. So he sets forth, being a man; for though the sources of his strength are in the wilderness, his path lies elsewhere. Of his destined mate he presently has a glimpse, but years and many tests are to be undergone before they come together, in the country of their first meeting. The end of the narrative, to tell the truth, with its war-motive and its deliberate culmination of "heart-interest," perilously approaches convention. Always, however, the style maintains the dignity of the passage above quoted, as if the smart manner of the present moment had never arrived; and in the earlier frontier scenes, as in the characterization of Bill Plunkett and the old Medicine Man of the Crees, one catches a faint reverberation (not, however, a mere imitation) of Cooper's romantic vision of the wilderness.

Contributors to this Issue

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Notes

JACQUES LOEB'S book on "Forced Movements, Tropisms and Animal Conduct" (Lippincott; \$2.50) is offered as the first of a series of Monographs on Experimental Biology, to be followed by works by a dozen other authors. The books might perhaps better be advertised as studies of the physics and chemistry of living matter undertaken with the *a priori* belief in the mechanistic as opposed to the vitalistic explanation of life. The school is an important one, but, as in the case of the recent protective-coloration movement inaugurated by Abbott Thayer, the pendulum swings too far, and it is sought to explain too much. Professor Loeb is one of the most tolerant exponents of this school; yet his first paragraph reads as follows: "Animal conduct is known to many through the romantic tales of popularizers, through the descriptive work of biological observers, or through the attempts of vitalists to show the inadequacy of physical laws for the explanation of life. Since none of these contributions are based upon quantitative experiments, they have led only to speculations, which are generally of an anthropomorphic or of a purely verbalistic character." This gives an insight into the bias of the entire school. In the course of nineteen chapters Dr. Loeb attempts to show that animal conduct can be studied satisfactorily by the quantitative methods of the physicist and that these methods lead to the forced movement or tropism theory. From forced movements caused by such obviously abnormal conditions as injuries to parts of the brain and nervous system, he reviews experiments in the effects of electricity, light, movement, and finally geo-, stereo-, chemo-, and thermo-tropisms. His thesis is satisfactory as long as he deals with the lower invertebrates where associative memory is absent, but when he attempts, by the single factor of stereo-tropism, to account for the mating of even such generalized vertebrates as fish, he fails. And in the two final chapters, on instincts and memory images, by his claim that all the higher emotions and feelings of human beings are only complex forced movements, he weakens all the logic of his experimental summaries. When he concludes that persistent will action is essentially a tropistic reaction, we are forced to align him with those on whom he looks down, as advocating speculation of a "purely verbalistic character." The volume marks an advance in a valuable method of research. It is by no means what the prospectus claims, an "epochal event in American scientific progress," nor is it "the most important step ever taken in America." It deals in a satisfactory manner with one of a multitude of factors, known and unknown, which have brought about the origin and evolution of life on the earth.

ONE inclined to choose or advise medicine for a life task will find ample data and sound counsel to guide him to a decision in "Medicine as a Profession," by D. W. and E. W. Weaver (Barnes; \$1.50). No attempt is made to hide the fact that the preparation for medicine is long and costly and the reward slow in coming and rarely adequate. The figures given are most interesting and bear out G. B. Shaw's caustic contention about the "disgraceful poverty" of the medical profession. Marked inclination and native ability are therefore prime requisites, perhaps more in this than in any other profession. The educational requirements and available facilities in the whole country are discussed in detail, and are not limited to one so-called "system," but include an outline of the theory and general differences of the principal "schools." This may appear unnecessary to those who hold, with these authors, that all medical endeavor must be guided by a singleness of purpose and that this aim finds its fulfillment in the "regular" school. Conditions as they actually exist should certainly be made known, however; for, after all, sects originate in response to a definite popular need and to a dissatisfaction with dominant doctrines. Their survival does not depend on theoretical justification but

on superiority of service. Interesting and valuable also is the discussion of specialism, but the recommendation for thorough training and practice in general medicine to precede a specialized career, though amply justified, is an ideal unattainable so long as technical apparatus keeps on increasing. The solution of this grave problem will probably have to be found elsewhere, possibly in a more coördinated division of labor. Many possibilities in this direction will suggest themselves to the reader of the thoughtful chapter on "The Future of Medicine." He will also be impressed by the great number of salaried positions now open to medical men in the Government service and in private and public institutions. These are all discussed with lucid judgment. It almost looks as if already we were on the fair road toward the socialistic ideal in medicine. A good index and various tables increase the value of the book for reference purposes. The bibliography might be improved by certain additions and a few eliminations.

THE July issue of *The American Journal of International Law*, just appearing, three months late, opens with a noteworthy paper by Simon E. Baldwin, former Governor, and still earlier Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, of Connecticut, and from the date of its organization an active member of the Association of which the *Journal* is the organ. He discusses The Membership of a World Tribunal for Promoting Permanent Peace. Believing that some kind of agreement between different Governments, closing present wars, must precede such a peace, he thinks such an agreement still must take the form of a treaty; recognizing also that the step from a state of war to one of peace may be a long one; though a seven years' period of negotiation, such as preceded the Treaty of Westphalia, now would be intolerable. The old question of a Sanction still intrudes, and must be recognized. Whether in any conference the powers represented should be equal, or proportioned to weight in the scale of states, might be uncertain: clearly, such apportioning relatively to weight would be next to impossible. Whatever conclusion any world tribunal might arrive at, the objection to attempting by force of arms to compel compliance on any recalcitrant party, he thinks manifest. But he suggests there might be an agreement to resort to an imposition of international outlawry, or in some way to exert economic and social pressure to compel compliance. The Editor-in-Chief, Professor Scott, considers the recently published Diary of Lord Haldane, covering negotiations in 1913 between Germany and England, illustrating the strained relations then existing between the two Governments. In the negotiations described, in which the Kaiser was on one or more occasions a participant, the question of yearly additions to their respective navies was vital. As preceding by only a year the present war, the discussions or conferences recorded assume great significance. They reveal and exemplify the spirit and intention then controlling. Several other papers of high importance touch vital pending international problems.

THE re-appearance of Dr. Edward O. Otis's "Tuberculosis" (Crowell; \$1.50), for the third time within ten years, suggests that the interest in the subject still continues. Dr. Otis is one of our earliest pioneers in the tuberculosis campaign. Long before it became organized into one of the most powerful public agencies, he had to face, practically unaided, conditions and an attitude of mind which invested everything connected with the subject of tuberculosis with the gloom of utter hopelessness. Only a well-filled pocketbook insuring the victim a prolonged sojourn "out West" held out a promise. Everything else was palliative, prescribed because something had to be done, — a sordid array of cough medicines, restoratives, and alleged specifics. How different is the outlook now as it presents itself to the reader of these pages! No panacea yet, and there never will be one, for tuberculosis, like poverty, arises out of a multiplicity of causes which no single measure can destroy. We welcome the new attitude even more than the many detailed deductions from scientific findings. It is a great gain, we feel, that

Dr. Otis can close the health rules at the end of his book with these words: "Let plenty of sunshine into your rooms. Joy is a great tonic. Happiness in work brings success." Such admonition would have been smiled at in the early days, and the laboratory specialist will smile at them eternally, as he smiles at a child trying to empty the ocean with a spoon. Of course Dr. Otis does not deny the communicability of the disease, and he shows in detail and clearly how this fact must affect measures of prevention; but this does not prevent his turning forcibly against those features of the tuberculosis campaign which stir up unwarranted fear and terror by emphasizing the importance of infectiousness and contagiousness, as if, from the point of view of public health, it were the same as in measles, cholera, and plague. Evidence is constantly accumulating to show that contagiousness plays even a lesser rôle in the spread of tuberculosis than Dr. Otis's book, in conformity with scientific teaching, still maintains. We hope that in a new edition the author may be able to put greater weight on the social and ethnic factors, for the ultimate solution of the problem will depend on their control.

IN "Madame Roland: A Study in Revolution," by Mrs. Pope-Hennessy (Dodd, Mead; \$5), the gifted Girondiste is described as a type of the *femme savante* that Molière would have been delighted to satirize. There is in her constant dwelling upon her reading and her studies something of the pride in newly acquired privileges which savors of a parvenu spirit. She was ever conscious of having availed herself of opportunities denied to the average bourgeoisie. She was an exception, and she never failed to impress that fact upon those about her. However, her girlhood preoccupation with her own destiny was for a time supplanted by her wifely ambition for her husband, whose position as Inspector General of Commerce at Amiens did not satisfy her. In this connection her trip to Paris to squeeze a patent of nobility out of the Government officials was not without farcical aspects. All she accomplished was Roland's transfer to Lyons. This was the great turning point in her life; for with it came the opportunity to work for her cause, or, as she called it, "*la chose publique*." Within a month the Rolands became contributors to Brissot's *Le Patriote Français* and Champagneux's *Courier de Lyons*, while intercourse and correspondence with men who subsequently became prominent in the revolutionary drama matured her judgment of men and things.

THE volume of Messrs. Ayres, Williams, and Wood, "Healthful Schools" (Houghton Mifflin; \$1.50), is a digest of the most available American opinion on questions of school hygiene, physical training, and school feeding. Mooted points involved in some of its chapters are suggested rather than definitely discussed, and the lists of books of reference, which are in their nature mainly intended for teachers, might very properly have been increased by various publications that have attracted international attention. The absence of European reports, especially of Scotch school studies, appears as a distinct omission. The methods of combating contagious diseases introduced within the last fifteen years into German schools might also have been referred to; and in the chapter on medical inspection the value to the community of a high order of medical supervising officer, devoting his entire time, professional skill, and experience to the exclusive interests of the school-community, might have been emphasized. With the meagre salary allowance usually granted to a chief medical officer, we cannot hope to command the complete absorption in the problems involved that will insure for the schools a high degree of hygienic efficiency. Somewhat incongruous in its relation to the rest of the volume seems the chapter on exceptional children, as it now stands; it belongs properly to the sphere of school psychology, and should in such a connection receive far more detailed treatment. It is, in fact, one of the cardinal problems of school administration, of much greater scope than is indicated in this

chapter; the limitation of the term "exceptional children" to backward and subnormal children is unjustified in these days, when the problem of the supernormal, exceptionally bright, precocious child also claims attention. Indifference to this type of child leads to as many life-failures as did formerly that standardized class instruction that took no cognizance of infirmities and handicaps.

DISCIPLINES of the modern cult of things Eastern will possibly welcome the specimen of the work of the Arab sage, Kahil Gibran, which Alfred A. Knopf has published in the shape of "The Madman" (\$1.25). Of Gibran, Rodin said: "The world should expect much from this poet painter of Lebanon. He is the William Blake of the twentieth century." We think, however, that most Westerners will find the work repellent in its exotic perversity, and will lay it aside with an uncomprehending shake of the head, for East is East and West is still West, and Tagore has not really succeeded in bridging the chasm between them, nor do we think that Gibran will do so. The most appealing of these parables is "The Wise Dog"—though we frankly prefer La Fontaine:

"One day there passed by a company of cats a wise dog.

"And as he came near and saw that they were very intent and heeded him not, he stopped.

"Then there arose in the midst of the company a large, grave cat, and looked upon them and said, 'Brethren, pray ye; and when ye have prayed again and yet again, nothing doubting, verily then it shall rain mice.'

"And when the dog heard this he laughed in his heart and turned from them, saying, 'O blind and foolish cats, has it not been written and have I not known and my fathers before me, that that which raineth for prayer and supplication is not mice but bones.'"

A WAR story without a doctor in it seems somehow incomplete and unsatisfactory. As a counterpoise to mere physical heroism, above the glory and lust of destruction, we like to see him ready for service to friend and foe alike, holding high the banner of a humanity united in suffering. The literature of past and present wars bears this out, and as we turn the pages of Colonel James Robb Church's sympathetic narrative, "The Doctor's Part" (Appleton; \$1.50), it becomes quite clear why this is so. His is the military bonhomie without the rodomontade, his also is the worldly wisdom of the superior physician without scientific pedantry. Colonel Church has evidently seen much in the two years which he spent on the western front as military observer. His chapters on the general sanitary service of the French, on the hospitals of the interior, on the zone of the armies, on transportation, and on the front lines, cover a wide field, and give us, as General Gorgas says in his foreword, "certain side lights of the great war not heretofore available." It is a book that will always vividly recall to us that we sent over there, not only good fighters, but good men and women to take care of them. To many an anxious or mourning parent that must be a supreme solace.

OVER four hundred pages of facts in steady succession, with no hint of an index, is a literary crime. In these days of card catalogues and statistical tabulations it is inconceivable that this should be permitted. For it is more as a volume of reference than as an absorbing narrative of literary appeal that Leo E. Miller's "In the Wilds of South America" (Scribners; \$4.50) is of value, although its interesting details of natural history, and its stories of adventure, are well worthy of publication. Mr. Miller has much to offer the ornithologist, geographer, anthropologist, and general reader. An enormous territory is covered, over one hundred and fifty thousand miles—Colombia, Venezuela, Guiana, the Roosevelt trans-continental expedition, Argentina; practically every country in South America. The frontispiece, from a fascinating painting of the cock-of-the-rock in its nesting home, at once arouses a great desire to read of this magnificent bird, but ten minutes of fruitless search again make vivid the lack of value of an indexless book. The author

is a collector of birds and animals for museums, and it is greatly to his credit that in addition to this exhausting labor he found time to keep a well filled journal.

THE Stratford Company has published a series of neat little volumes containing stories by some of the world's best writers. Of Russian authors they have issued thus far stories by Tolstoy, Chekhov, Gorky, Bunin, and Andreyev. The low price (25 cents per volume) does not, however, release the editors from the duty of more discriminating selection and more careful translation. Certainly Chekhov should have been represented by his artistic writings rather than by his early contributions to the daily press and to satirical magazines. Ivan Bunin, the excellent translator of *Hiawatha*, has written some good stories, so there was hardly any reason for introducing him for the first time to the English reading public through his lengthy and banal "Gentlemen from San Francisco." The translator of Gorky's "Because of Monotony" ought to know that "katsap" (goat) is a nickname given by Little Russians to the whiskered Great Russians, and not *vice versa*, as the foot-note categorically states. There is room for improvement in this enterprise, though it is, on the whole, gratifying.

IN "Such Nonsense" (Doran; \$2), Carolyn Wells has made a copious and, on the whole, happy collection of comic verse, ancient and modern. By way of being quite up to date, she includes Don Marquis's "Lilies" and excerpts from Kenneth C. Beaton's "Ye Towne Gossip." But the old stand-bys are well represented. To her pages devoted to limericks, she prefixes a note on the origin of that metrical form. The theory that it got its name from the fact that Edward Lear was born in Limerick she rejects, if only because he was, in fact, born in London. For ourselves, we think that the name arose from the words of the chorus generally used when limericks are sung:

"Oh, won't you come up, come up,
Oh, won't you come up, come up?
Oh, won't you come up, come up, come up,
Come all the way to Limerick?"

We do not think that the word as applied to "nonsense verses" is of very early date.

IN these days when destruction and katabolism seem dominant, it is encouraging to realize that there has been demand for a third edition of Henry Fairfield Osborn's great work, "Men of the Old Stone Age" (Scribners; \$3.50). The most important addition is an account of the Palaeolithic history of Spain and northwest Africa. And this serves as an introduction to the remarkable Capsian industry. The art of Alpera and Cogul has been reoriented as belonging to the close of the Palaeolithic, embracing hunting scenes with numerous human figures in silhouette. Still the discussion goes on of the famous Piltdown man and his lower jaw. When this problem is cleared up we shall have taken another step toward understanding the origin of mankind.

THE life-work of Sir Walter Raleigh, the tercentenary of whose death has just been commemorated in England and this country, is interestingly and suggestively described by E. A. Benians of Cambridge University in the *Geographical Journal* for November. To many it will be a surprise to learn that "if we except Bacon, none of his contemporaries had a wider range of knowledge or wrote on so many subjects with equal force and originality. He began his career when, a boy of fifteen, he volunteered for service with the Huguenots, and from that time he had a share in all that was great and moving in the life of his country—its politics, its wars, its literature. During his eleven years' imprisonment in the Tower he wrote his famous "History of the World." His one great achievement was the convincing his countrymen that not Eastern trade but colonization was England's road to greatness. Noteworthy,

too, is his conviction that to win the hearts of the Indian tribes by gentle and just treatment and a knowledge of their language "is the foundation of power." He recommended that Indians should be sent to England to be "civilized and converted here." Would that he could have known in those last sad days of his life that England was destined to realize the vastness of his dreams.

A BUSINESS man detained for months by affairs which kept him in a Mexican village, devoted his enforced leisure to studying the people who passed him as he sat day after day under the china-berry tree in the plaza ("Seen in a Mexican Plaza," by George F. Weeks, Revell; \$1.). Though without literary distinction, the sketches are good humored and friendly, and help by so much towards a proper appreciation of our neighbors in the south.

BY an oversight, the note published in the *Nation* of December 14 on Mr. Edmund Gosse's collection of Swinburne's child poems "The Springtide of Life" failed to include the name of the J. B. Lippincott Company as publishers of the American edition.

Art

The Allied War Salon

AFTER a visit to the Allied War Salon at the American Art Galleries, stay-at-home Americans will feel that through the vivid pictures drawn by men who have been part of the actual drudgery and routine of war, the great distance has been swept away and the war reaches to our very door-step. The drawings, grouped under the heading of "War Drawings of the Official Artists of the United States Army," picture every imaginable phase of the war. A gloomy cellar with a group of haggard French and American officers absorbed in their maps, tired sentries and a guttering candle expressive of the hurry and strain; a tremendous shattered barn standing bleakly in the sunshine, disgorging masses of golden hay on to a rutted road; an empty gaping chateau in a wood, the former headquarters of the German Crown Prince; French farm-yards with American trucks, American soldiers, French children, and French chickens all one busy mingled group—all these drawings create in the beholder the feeling of being no longer merely audience, but of becoming part of that world, with an understanding of its life.

The most brilliant drawings are those by Wallace Morgan. They are beautifully and surely done, they have humor and truth, and they are quite unforgettable. There is a sketch called "Washing Up"—a splashing gay scene at a village fountain, the Americans *en deshabille*, scrubbing every part of themselves with great thoroughness, and an audience of small French boys standing by utterly absorbed in these energetic gods from over the seas. Another of Mr. Morgan's drawings shows an artillery division on its way back from the front, after days of hard fighting. It is rumbling through bare woods, the men limp and inanimate, the horses with trembling knees and barely force left to reach their billets. There is still another amusing scene in a wood near the front, where each man had his own dug-out, and all one could see was a jaunty head and a pair of hands above ground, with the soldier reading a magazine or sleeping, cleaning a gun or cleaning his nails—sure human touches that spell the artist.

A collection of Mr. Pennell's fine lithographs of war industries has an imaginative quality that makes thundering factories and vast shipping yards regions of romance. The sick horrors of George Bellows offer little. In delightful contrast are the humorous sketches by George Wright, of awkward young sailors learning their very complicated vocation; desperately attempt-

ing to wig-wag; a whole boat-load trying to row together, with an immaculate young officer in icy despair at the tangle of oars. Many of the American war posters were collected, among them Raemakers's cartoons, revealing a patriotism so anguished that it sears. Clifford Beales's painting of Fifth Avenue caught the spirit of ecstatic ringing joy that swept through the city from the pavements to the very tip of the skyscrapers. W.

Music

The Philadelphia Orchestra

THE privileges of musical New Yorkers are many, and the visits of the Philadelphia Orchestra with Leopold Stokowski as conductor are stimulating additions to the winter's feast. The execution and spirit at the last performance were brilliant. The Brahms symphony, Number 3, which opened the programme, was finely played with singing rhythm and beautiful tone, which found its leadership in the violins, and with great clarity of phrasing and structure, as satisfying as the balanced pattern of an old garden. Stokowski seems to listen to his orchestra as well as to instruct them, and to depend on and expect intelligent playing. His attitude is not that of a rigorous pedagogue sustaining his dependent disciples. Rather it expresses a high expectancy of the best they can offer, and consequently it evokes stirring response. After the symphony, Ossip Gabrilowitch played the Rachmaninoff concerto in C minor and his musicianship, the masterly sensing of harmonic changes, the interplay between orchestra and soloist worked gradually to a climax in the last movement which was like the sonorous boom of a tremendous wave. The entire performance made one regret that Gabrilowitch should be conducting in Detroit and Stokowski in Philadelphia, and that New Yorkers should have the privilege of their visits only occasionally. W.

Joseph Bonnet

THE announcement of an organ recital by Joseph Bonnet brought to memory a happy evening spent in St. John's Church in Washington last winter, when Bonnet, with the magic of ancient melodies, pure-toned organ, and dim church, interpreted all the pageant of the centuries through his gay and serene music. But an organ recital in Aeolian Hall is a very different matter. M. Bonnet had concrete difficulties to overcome in the crass pinkness of the walls and ceiling, never sinking to neutrality, and in the unfortunate form of the hall, crushing down from above, and insistently preventing the detachment which a musical audience seeks. The programme began with a prelude by Henry Purcell graciously reminiscent of his songs, and went on to Bach's Christmas Song and the famous Toccata and Fugue in D Minor. M. Bonnet then played a magnificent Fantaisie and Fugue by Franz Liszt which fully justified the note appended to the programme, expostulating with all the world for adoring Liszt as virtuoso and ignoring him as composer. The enthusiasm of the audience served to confirm Saint Saëns's judgment that the Fantaisie and Fugue was "the most extraordinary piece ever written for the organ." Mr. Bonnet is a musician with real inspiration, vivid imagination, and richly colored variety in his playing, and is always a joy to hear. W.

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Drama

Two French Plays

A COMMON criticism of the stage to-day is that actors for the most part do not act, they merely speak lines. Perhaps no dramatist lends himself more easily to such a manner of production than De Musset, with his literary dialogue full of poetic metaphor and balanced repartee. It is therefore doubly to the credit of M. Copeau's company at the Vieux Colombier that they succeed in making so vital an impression with a delicate romantic fantasy like "Les Caprices de Marianne." The actors of the Vieux Colombier never "speak lines"; speaking or silent they are always thinking, listening human beings. The art of listening is in danger of becoming a lost one on the part of American actors. Perhaps the "star system" is to blame. A star must have all the lines that are "coming to him," and often those that should be coming to someone else. Naturally the achievement of the great is the ambition of the less, so no one wants to listen on the American stage. The result is that often no one wants to listen in the stalls either. Perhaps it is only in a repertoire company like the Vieux Colombier, where one's fortunes do not depend on the speed of the success of a single play, that the actors have the leisure to listen as well as to talk.

There is indeed an unhurried atmosphere about the Vieux Colombier that makes an evening there a restful and refreshing delight. Once inside, we forget Broadway seething at our doors. We fall back into the leisurely tempo of the old world, the only tempo in which works of art can be created, the only tempo at which they should be produced. A De Musset production must be a work of art or it is nothing. The plays of that artist are exquisite but frail. They have not enough vitality to withstand a poor presentation. M. Copeau's production of "Les Caprices de Marianne" was in every way satisfying; the setting, the lighting, the grouping, and the costuming made a pictorial background worthy of the finished performance of the actors.

"Le Fardeau de la Liberté," on the other hand, could scarcely stand the test of its excellent production. Rushed through at top farce speed it might have succeeded with an audience before they had time to realize its defects. Played quietly it appeared as a good comic idea developed in rather slovenly fashion, the monologue cruelly overworked, the dialogue only moderately amusing. It is not Tristan Bernard at his best—far from it. The actors of the Vieux Colombier did their best, and deserve the fullest credit for their effort, but even they could not redeem it from mediocrity.

T. H.

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Finance

The Longer Industrial Future

VARIOUS industrial leaders and financial experts have recently given their views concerning the future of business in the United States. One of the most interesting prophecies has come from Judge Elbert H. Gary, Chairman of the United States Steel Corporation, who has often made shrewd forecasts of the business outlook. Judge Gary asserts that a period of great prosperity is in store for this country after the readjustment of business from a war basis to a peace basis has been accomplished. After saying that no one could tell how long this readjustment process would take, Judge Gary expressed the view that the next five years would be the most progressive, prosperous, and successful five years in the country's history.

This view is reassuring, and since there is much in the present situation to support it, it is to be hoped that other industrial leaders will follow the example of those directing the policies of the steel industry and determine to ease the strain of a return to more normal conditions, even if such an arrangement should involve the sacrifice of some of the profits cleared during the past four years of world war. Various industries have already made progress along these lines and although the price-cutting movement has not gone far, it has affected the price schedules of some of the largest industries, with the result that a return to peace conditions has been very largely effected.

The expressions of Judge Gary, as well as similar views from Frank A. Vanderlip, of the National City Bank, and other noted financiers, account for the optimism reflected in many quarters known to be highly conservative. It is evident that the efforts made last April by the Federal Reserve Board to bring about a general curtailment of loans to non-essential industries and to borrowers upon speculative collateral has been of the greatest service to the people. Had it not been for these measures, undertaken in connection with the effort to fortify the country's bank position through the accumulation of an immense gold reserve for the Federal Reserve Banks, underlying conditions to-day would be far less sound and we might be threatened with the abuses incident to reckless speculation on the part of the public.

It is fortunate, therefore, that the Federal Reserve Board has exercised a financial guardianship over the country during the period in which business was exposed to the vicissitudes of war. With the abandonment on January 1 of most of the emergency expedients which the Government enforced during the war period, various industries will be confronted with the open market conditions which prevailed before the world struggle began. The price of copper, steel and various other commodities will be influenced wholly by the law of supply and demand, and not at all by regulations intended to insure an ample supply and rush production for the Government. There is reason to believe, therefore, that these arrangements will be of assistance in safeguarding business against the uncertainties of the transition era upon which the country has entered. It would be unwise, as Mr. Hughes has said, to attempt to continue war expedients to control peace conditions.

Readjustment will be more laborious in some industries than in others, owing to the unwillingness of some producers to reduce prices sufficiently to bring in the timid buyers who always await leadership before they can be induced to release buying orders, when prices begin to fall. The wheat growers are about the only business men who are not controlled by the readjustment necessities. Every farmer knows to-day the price at which he can sell his wheat next summer. This explains why he has planted the largest acreage ever devoted to winter wheat. Not so the industrial manager, however. He is confronted with the problems of a falling market and a high labor cost which will not come down until living costs have been reduced.

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- Bryce, Viscount. *Essays and Addresses in War Time.* Macmillan. \$2.
 Cairns, W. B. *British Criticisms of American Writings, 1783-1815.* Madison: University of Wisconsin.
 Kettle, T. M. *The Day's Burden and Miscellaneous Essays.* Scribner.

POETRY AND DRAMA

- Brody, A. *A Family Album.* Huebsch. \$1.25.
 Brougham, E. M. *Corn from Olde Fieldes.* Lane. \$1.50.
 Gautier, Judith. *Chinese Lyrics from the Book of Jade.* Huebsch.
 Hagedorn, Hermann. *Hymn of Free Peoples Triumphant.* Macmillan. 75 cents.
 McLeod, I. R. *Before Dawn.* Huebsch. \$1.25.
 Mackintosh, E. A. *War the Liberator and Other Pieces.* Lane.
 Masefield, John. *Collected Poems and Plays.* 2 volumes. \$5.
 Morgan, Angela. *Forward March.* Lane. \$1.25.
 Ridge, Lola. *The Ghetto and Other Poems.* Huebsch. \$1.25.
 Representative British Dramas. Edited by M. J. Moses. Little, Brown. \$4.
 Untermeyer, J. S. *Growing Pains.* Huebsch. \$1.

SOCIAL SCIENCE

- British-American Discords and Concords. Putnam.
 Curtis, Lionel. *Letters to the People of India on Responsible Government.* Macmillan. \$1.25.
 Follett, M. P. *The New State.* Longmans, Green. \$3.
 Herzog, S. *The Future of German Industrial Exports.* Doubleday, Page.
 King, W. L. M. *Industry and Humanity.* Houghton Mifflin. \$3.
 Kohler, M. J. *Jewish Rights and the Congresses of Vienna.* New York: The American Jewish Committee.
 MacKaye, James. *Americanized Socialism.* Boni & Liveright. \$1.25.
 Singer, B. *International Law, 1918.* Chicago: T. H. Flood & Co.
 Wellman, Walter. *The Force Supreme.* Doran. \$1.25.
 Women and the Labour Party. Edited by M. Phillips. Huebsch. 50 cents.
 Wood, C. W. *The Great Change.* Boni & Liveright. \$1.50.

PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION

- Gannett, W. C. and Jones, J. L. *The Faith That Makes Faithful.* Stratford. \$1.25.
 Grierson, Francis. *Abraham Lincoln: The Practical Mystic.* Lane. \$1.
 Hopkins, E. W. *The History of Religions.* Macmillan. \$3.
 Lawrence, E. G. *Sidelights on Shakespeare.* Stratford. \$1.50.
 The Living Church Annual and Churchman's Almanac, 1919. Morehouse Publishing Company.
 Willett, H. L., and Morrison, C. C. *The Daily Altar.* Chicago: Christian Century Press. \$2.

EDUCATION

- Ashley, R. L. *Modern European Civilization.* Macmillan. \$1.80.
 Bishop, A. L. and Keller, A. G. *Industry and Trade.* Ginn.
 Dumas, A. *La Tulipe Noire.* Edited by A. Fontaine. Heath. 66 cents.
 Hale, A. J. *The Applications of Electrolysis in Chemical Industry.* Longmans, Green. \$2.50.
 McFee, I. M. *The Teacher, the School and the Community.* American Book Company.
 Matthews, Brander. *An Introduction to the Study of American Literature.* American Book Company.
 Reynolds, A. B. *Latin Reader.* Heath.
 Sanford, J. L. *Introduction to English History.* Second edition. Baltimore: Norman, Remington Company.
 Worman, J. H. and Bransby, C. *Second Spanish Book.* American Book Company.

THE WAR

- Bennett, J. E. *The Great Cycle: The Solution of the Problem of War.* San Francisco: Menlo Publishing Company.
 Caunter, J. A. L. *13 Days: An Escape from a German Prison.* Macmillan. \$1.75.
 Imbrie, R. W. *Behind the Wheel of a War Ambulance.* McBride. \$1.50.
 Low, A. M. *Woodrow Wilson: An Interpretation.* Little, Brown. \$2.
 Myers, Gustav. *The German Myth.* Boni & Liveright. \$1 net.
 Papazian, B. S. *The Tragedy of Armenia.* Pilgrim Press. \$1.
 Waldo, F. L. *America at the Front.* Dutton. \$2.

JUVENILE

- Botsford, C. A. *Joining the Colors.* Penn Publishing Co. \$1.35.
 Colum, Padraic. *The Children's Homer.* Macmillan. \$2.
 Darrow, F. L. *The Boy's Own Book of Great Inventions.* Macmillan. \$2.50.
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Russian Documents

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Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia

THE October revolution of the workmen and peasants began under the common banner of emancipation.

The peasants are being emancipated from the power of the landowners, for there is no longer the landowner's property right in the land—it has been abolished. The soldiers and sailors are being emancipated from the power of autocratic generals, for generals will henceforth be elective and subject to recall. The workmen are being emancipated from the whims and arbitrary will of the capitalists, for henceforth there will be established the control of the workers over mills and factories. Everything living and capable of life is being emancipated from the hateful shackles.

There remain only the peoples of Russia, who have suffered and are suffering oppression and arbitrariness, and whose emancipation must immediately be begun, whose liberation must be effected resolutely and definitely.

During the period of czarism the peoples of Russia were systematically incited against one another. The result of such a policy are known: massacres and pogroms on the one hand, slavery of peoples on the other.

There can be and there must be no return to this disgraceful policy of instigation. Henceforth the policy of a voluntary and honest union of the peoples of Russia must be substituted.

In the period of imperialism, after the February revolution, when the power was transferred to the hands of the Cadet bourgeoisie, the naked policy of instigation gave way to one of cowardly distrust of the peoples of Russia, to a policy of fault-finding and provocation, of "freedom" and "equality" of peoples. The results of such a policy are known: the growth of national enmity, the impairment of mutual trust.

An end must be put to this unworthy policy of falsehood and distrust, of fault-finding and provocation. Henceforth it must be replaced by an open and honest policy which leads to complete mutual trust of the people of Russia. Only as the result of such a trust can there be formed an honest and lasting union of the peoples of Russia. Only as the result of such a union can the workmen and peasants of the peoples of Russia be cemented into one revolutionary force able to resist all attempts on the part of the imperialist-annexationist bourgeoisie.

Starting with these assumptions, the first Congress of Soviets, in June of this year, proclaimed the right of the peoples of Russia to free self-determination.

The second Congress of Soviets, in October of this year, reaffirmed this inalienable right of the peoples of Russia more decisively and definitely.

The united will of these Congresses, the Council of the People's Commissaries, resolved to base their activity upon the question of the nationalities of Russia, as expressed in the following principles:

1. The equality and sovereignty of the peoples of Russia.
2. The right of the peoples of Russia to free self-determination, even to the point of separation and the formation of an independent state.
3. The abolition of any and all national and national-religious privileges and disabilities.
4. The free development of national minorities and ethnographic groups inhabiting the territory of Russia.

The concrete decrees which follow will be framed immediately upon the formation of a commission for the affairs of nationalities.

Declaration of the Rights of the Laboring and Exploited People

THE form of the following declaration is explained by the fact that it was prepared for submission to the Constituent Assembly, which, however, broke up without acting upon it.

THE Central Executive Committee proclaims the following basic principles:

I.

The Constituent Assembly resolves:

1. Russia is declared to be a Republic of Soviets of Workmen's, Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies. All the power in the centre and in the provinces belongs to these Soviets.
2. The Russian Soviet Republic is formed on the basis of a free union of free nations, as a federation of national Soviet republics.

II.

Taking as its fundamental task the abolition of any exploitation of man by men, the complete elimination of the division of society into classes, the ruthless suppression of exploiters, the establishment of a socialistic organization of society and the victory of Socialism in all countries, the Constituent Assembly resolves, further:

1. To effect the socialization of the land, private ownership of land is abolished, and the whole land fund is declared common national property and transferred to the laborers without compensation, on the basis of equalized use of the soil.

All forests, minerals, and waters of state-wide importance, as well as the whole inventory of animate and inanimate objects, all estates and agricultural enterprises, are declared national property.

2. The Soviet law of labor control and the Supreme Board of National Economy are confirmed, with a view to securing the authority of the toilers over the exploiters, as the first step to the complete transfer of all factories, mills, mines, railways, and other means of production and transportation to the ownership of the Workmen's and Peasants' Soviet Republic.

3. The transfer of all banks into the ownership of the Workers' and Peasants' state is confirmed, it being one of the conditions of the emancipation of the laboring masses from the yoke of capital.

4. With a view to the destruction of the parasitic classes of society and the organization of the national economy, universal labor service is established.

5. In the interest of securing all the power for the laboring masses and the elimination of any possibility of the reestablishment of the power of the exploiters, the arming of the toilers,

the formation of a socialistic red army of workmen and peasants, and the complete disarmament of the wealthy classes are decreed.

III.

1. Expressing its inflexible determination to wrest humanity from the talons of financial capital and imperialism, which have drenched the earth with blood in this most criminal of wars, the Constituent Assembly subscribes unanimously to the policy of abrogating secret treaties which has been adopted by the Soviet Government, the organization of the widest fraternization with the workmen and peasants of the armies now warring against each other, and the securing, at any cost and by revolutionary measures, of a democratic peace without annexations and indemnities, on the basis of free self-determination of peoples.

2. For these same purposes the Constituent Assembly insists upon a complete break with the barbarous policy of bourgeois civilization which built the prosperity of the exploiters among the few chosen nations upon the enslavement of hundreds of millions of the laboring population in Asia, in the colonies in general, and in the small countries.

The Constituent Assembly welcomes the policy of the Council of the People's Commissaries which has proclaimed the complete independence of Finland, which has begun the removal of the troops from Persia, and which has declared the freedom of self-determination of Armenia.

The Constituent Assembly views the Soviet law of the repudiation of the loans contracted by the Government of the Czar, the landowners and bourgeoisie, as the first blow to international banking, finance and capital, and expresses its confidence that the Soviet authority will continue to pursue that course until the complete victory of the rising of international labor against the yoke of capital is attained.

IV.

Having been elected on the basis of party lists made up before the October revolution, when the people could not yet rise *en masse* against the exploiters and did not know the strength of the opposition when the latter defends its class privileges, and when the people had not yet practically undertaken the creation of a socialistic society, the Constituent Assembly would deem it radically wrong, even from a formal point of view, to set itself in opposition to the Soviets.

In substance, the Constituent Assembly considers that now, at the moment of the decisive battle of the people with their exploiters, there can be no place for the latter in any of the organs of government. The power must belong wholly and exclusively to the toiling masses and their plenipotentiaries, the Soviets of Workmen's, Soldiers', and Peasants' Delegates.

Supporting the Soviet Government and the decrees of the Council of the People's Commissaries, the Constituent Assembly recognizes that its tasks are completed when it has framed a general statement of the fundamental bases of a socialistic reconstruction of society.

At the same time, aiming at the creation of a really free and voluntary and, consequently, a more complete and lasting union of the laboring classes of all the nations of Russia, the Constituent Assembly confines itself to the establishment of the fundamental principles of federation of the Soviet Republic of Russia, leaving it to the workmen and peasants of each nation to decide independently, at their own representative Soviet Congress, whether they wish to participate in the Federal Government and in the other Soviet institutions, and on what basis. . .

Church and State

1. The church is separated from the state.
2. Within the limits of the Republic, it is prohibited to pass any local laws or regulations which would restrict or limit the freedom of conscience or establish any kind of privileges or advantages on the ground of the religious affiliations of citizens.

3. Every citizen may profess any religion or none at all. Any legal disabilities connected with the profession of any religion or none are abolished.

Note: From all official acts any indication of the religious affiliation or non-affiliation of citizens is to be omitted.

4. The proceedings of state and other public legal institutions are not to be accompanied by any religious customs or ceremonies.

5. The free observance of religious customs is guaranteed in so far as the same do not disturb the public order and are not accompanied by attempts upon the rights of the citizens of the Soviet Republic. The local authorities have the right to take all necessary measures for the preservation, in such cases, of public order and security.

6. No one may decline to perform his civil duties, giving as a reason his religious views. Exemptions from this law, conditioned upon the substitution of one civil duty for another, are permitted by decision of the people's court in each individual case.

7. Religious or judicial oaths are abolished. In necessary cases a solemn promise only is given.

8. Acts of a civil nature are performed exclusively by civil authorities, such as the departments of registration of marriages and births.

9. The school is separated from the church. The teaching of religious doctrines in all state and public, as well as in private, educational institutions in which general subjects are taught, is forbidden. Citizens may teach and study religion privately.

10. All church and religious societies are subject to the general regulations governing private associations and unions, and do not enjoy any privileges or subsidies either from the state or from its local autonomous and self-governing institutions.

11. Compulsory collection of payments and assessments for the benefit of church or religious societies, or as a means of compulsion or punishment of their co-members on the part of these societies, is not allowed.

12. No church or religious society has the right to own property. They have no rights of a juridical person.

13. All the properties of the existing church and religious societies in Russia are declared national property. Buildings and articles specially designated for religious services are, by special decisions of the local or central state authorities, given for free use by corresponding religious societies.

Supreme Board of National Economy

1. The Supreme Board of National Economy is established under the Council of the People's Commissaries.

2. The task of the Supreme Board of National Economy is the organization of the national economy and state finances. For that purpose the Supreme Board of National Economy elaborates general standards and a plan for the regulation of the economic life of the country, coördinates and unifies the activity of the central and local regulating institutions (fuel board, metal board, transport board, central supplies committee, etc., and the respective People's Commissaries of commerce and industry, supplies, agriculture, finances, war and navy, etc.) of the All-Russian Board of Workmen's Control, and also of the corresponding activities of factory and trade organizations of the working class.

3. The Supreme Board of National Economy is given the right of confiscation, requisition, sequestration, and compulsory syndication of various branches of industry and commerce, and other measures in the domain of production, distribution, and state finances.

4. All existing institutions for the regulation of the national economy are subordinated to the Supreme Board of National Economy, which is given the right to reform them.

5. The Supreme Board of National Economy is formed: (a)

of the All-Russian Board of Workmen's Control, whose personnel is determined by the decree of November 14, 1917; (b) of representatives of all the People's Commissaries; (c) of learned persons, who are invited and have a consulting vote.

6. The Supreme Board of National Economy is divided into sections and departments (as fuel, metal, demobilization, finance, etc.), and the number and the sphere of activity of these sections and departments are determined by the entire Board.

7. The departments of the Supreme Board of National Economy conduct the work of regulating the separate branches of national economic life, and also prepare the measures of the respective People's Commissaries.

8. The Supreme Board of National Economy forms out of its membership a bureau of 15 persons, for the coördination of the current work of the sections and departments and the performance of tasks which demand immediate attention.

9. All projects of law and large measures which have reference to the regulation of the national economy in its entirety are submitted to the Council of the People's Commissaries through the Supreme Board of National Economy.

10. The Supreme Board of National Economy unifies and directs the Soviets of Workmen's, Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies, which include the local organs of workmen's control, and also the local commissaries of labor, commerce and industry, supplies, etc. In the absence of corresponding economic branches, the Supreme Board of National Economy forms local organs.

All decisions of the Supreme Board of National Economy are binding upon the economic departments of the local Soviets, which constitute the local organs of the Supreme Board of National Economy.

Nationalization of Banks

In the interest of the regular organization of the national economy, of the thorough eradication of bank speculation and the complete emancipation of the workmen, peasants, and the whole laboring population from the exploitation of banking capital, and with a view to the establishment of a single national bank of the Russian Republic which shall serve the real interests of the people and the poorer classes, the Central Executive Committee resolves:

1. The banking business is declared a state monopoly.
 2. All existing private joint-stock banks and banking offices are merged in the state bank.
 3. The assets and liabilities of the liquidated establishments are taken over by the state bank.
 4. The order of the merger of private banks in the state bank is to be determined by a special decree.
 5. The temporary administration of the affairs of the private banks is entrusted to the board of the state bank.
 6. The interests of the small depositors will be safeguarded.
- December 14, 1917*

The Law of Regional and Local Boards of National Economy

1. For the purpose of the organization and regulation of the entire economic life of every industrial region, in conformity with general state and local interests, under the regional and local Soviets of Workmen's, Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies, there are organized regional Boards of National Economy, as local institutions for the organization and the regulation of production, directed by the Supreme Board of National Economy and acting under the general control of the respective Soviet of Workmen's, Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies.

2. The Regional Board of National Economy is formed: (a) of the collegia elected at the joint conferences of producers'

trade unions and factory committees (mining, commercial, industrial, transport, etc.) and also at conferences of land committees called by the Soviets of Workmen's, Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies; (b) of representatives of Soviets of Workmen's, Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies and democratic coöperative societies; (c) of representatives of the technical, administrative, and commercial management of enterprises (numbering not more than one-third of the entire membership of the board). . . .

Representatives of departments participate in the deliberations of the Regional Board of National Economy and have a consulting vote.

3. The Regional Board of National Economy is divided into sections, according to the branches of economic life: (1) state economy and banks, (2) fuel, (3) metal manufacture, (4) textile manufacture, (5) cotton manufacture, (6) wood, (7) mineral substances, (8) animal products, (9) alimentary and gas-tronomic substances, (10) chemical products, (11) construction works, (12) transport, (13) agriculture, (14) supplies and consumption, or other sections which the Regional Board of National Economy, owing to local circumstances, may find necessary.

Each section which takes charge of any branch of production is divided into four main departments: (1) organization: (a) management, (b) financing, and (c) technical organization of enterprises; (2) supply and distribution; (3) labor; (4) statistical. Kindred departments of the sections, by meeting jointly, form conferences (1) on organization, (2) on supplies and distribution, (3) on labor questions, (4) on statistics. They maintain permanent business bureaus.

The Board of National Economy forms also other inter-sectional conferences, as on demobilization, etc.

4. The Regional Board of National Economy elects an executive committee which directs all the activity of the Board, its departments, sections and bureaus.

The Regional Board of National Economy elects a presidium which constitutes the presidium of the executive committee and of the separate committees of the Regional Board of National Economy.

5. The Regional Board of National Economy has jurisdiction over the following matters:

(a) The consideration and solution of questions of principle and those common to the whole region; the unification and direction of the activities of the lower organs of workmen's control in the region, the regulation of their mutual relations, the composition and elaboration of detailed instructions for them regarding different questions of control.

(b) The direction, under the supervision of the Supreme Board of National Economy, of the management of private enterprises which have become the property of the Republic.

(c) The investigation of conflicts not settled by the local organs.

(d) The investigation of all the needs of the region as to fuel, raw material, means of production, labor force, transportation, facilities, supplies, and, in general, articles of prime necessity.

(e) The accounting of raw material, unfinished products, goods, labor forces, implements, and other articles of production.

(f) The taking of measures for the satisfaction of the wants and economic needs of the population, rural economy, etc.

(g) The establishment of regulations and plans for the distribution of general state supplies in the region.

(h) The formation of plans for the distribution of orders among the enterprises.

(i) The regulation of transport in the region.

(j) The establishment of strict supervision over the entire economic life of the region with regard to organization, finances, etc.

(k) The taking of measures for the most complete utilization of the productive forces of the region, in the industries as well as in rural economy.

(l) The establishment of bases of distribution of the labor forces, materials, fuel, means of production, goods, supplies, etc.

(m) The taking of measures for the improvement of the sanitary-hygienic conditions of labor.

6. All regulating institutions of local significance come under the jurisdiction of the respective Regional Boards of National Economy, and all employees, together with the technical and administrative apparatus, are placed at the disposal of the Regional Board of National Economy.

7. All decisions of the Regional Board of National Economy have a compulsory character, and must be carried out by all local institutions and also by the directorates of enterprises.

The decisions of the Regional Board of National Economy can be suspended and vacated only by the Supreme Board of National Economy.

8. The limits of the economic regions are fixed by a congress of Regional Boards of National Economy and, until its meeting, by the Supreme Board of National Economy.

9. All Regional Boards of National Economy must, immediately upon formation, enter into business connection with the Supreme Board of National Economy, obeying its directions upon questions affecting general state interests.

10. The formation of Boards of National Economy of smaller regions (provincial, district, etc.), modelled after the organization of Regional Boards of National Economy, is left to the initiative of provincial Soviets of Workmen's, Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies. The establishment of the sphere of their activity and their general direction and coördination devolve upon the Regional Board of National Economy.

The Provincial Soviet Organization

THE scheme of the general statutes of Soviets of Workmen's, Soldiers', Peasant, and Cossack Deputies, as a representative organ, is no less necessary for the obscure places in our provinces than is the scheme of the departments and sub-departments of the Soviets. . . .

The statutes of the Soviets may be divided into sections, as follows: (1) the purpose of the organization of Soviets; (2) the basis of representation; (3) sections of the Soviet; (4) elections of the presidium and executive committee of the Soviet; (5) the functions of the presidium; (6) the executive committee and its functions; (7) general sessions; (8) committees.

1. The purpose of the organization of the Soviet.

The Soviet of Workmen's, Soldiers', Peasant, and Cossack Deputies is the sovereign state organ of revolutionary democracy, in addition to the organization of governmental authority in the provinces. The Soviet pursues the following objects:

(a) The organization of the large laboring masses of workmen, peasants, soldiers, and Cossacks;

(b) The struggle against counter-revolutionary currents and the strengthening of the Soviet Republic and all liberties gained by the October revolution.

2. The basis and order of representation in the Soviets.

(a) A Soviet of Workmen's, Soldiers', Peasant, and Cossack Deputies is constituted of one or two representatives each of all workmen's, soldiers', peasant, and Cossack organizations (parties, trade unions, committees, etc.) in the cities, villages and settlements.

(b) The peasants elect two representatives from each township to the district Soviet (a township Soviet has one or two representatives from each small town, village or hamlet).

(c) The Cossacks elect two representatives (or three) from each village to the Regional Soviet of Workmen's, Soldiers', Peasant, and Cossack Deputies, and one representative each from a *forepost* [small settlement], hamlet or small town to the village Soviet. (In Cossack territories the peasant representation in the Regional Soviet is proportional, according to the villages).

(d) The workmen and all proletarian laboring masses in

cities where the urban proletariat does not exceed 5,000 or 6,000 persons have representation on the following basis:

(1) Every enterprise employing 100 persons sends one representative.

(2) Enterprises employing from 100 to 200 persons send two representatives; from 200 to 300 persons, three representatives, etc.

(3) Enterprises employing less than 50 persons, combine, if possible, with other small kindred enterprises and send a common representative to the Soviet. Those unable to combine may send their representative independently.

(e) The soldiers of a local garrison (Cossacks, sailors) send to the Soviet their representatives on the following principle: each company, squadron, command, etc., elects two representatives to the Soviet; clerks, hospital attendants, horse reserves, and other small units, send one representative each.

Addenda to paragraph 2. (1) Every member newly elected to the Soviet must present a certificate from his constituents, which is examined by the credentials committee; (2) if a member of the Soviet deviates from the instructions of his constituents then the constituents have the right to recall him and elect another in his place; (3) each section (the workmen's, the soldiers', etc.) of the Soviet has the right to include in its membership experienced and necessary workers by coöptation up to one-fifth of its entire membership. Those added by coöptation have the right of a consulting vote at general sessions of the Soviet in the committees and sections.

3. Sections of the Soviet: (a) a Soviet has four sections: peasant, workmen's, soldiers', and Cossack; (b) each section elects from its membership a presidium consisting of a chairman, two vice-chairmen, and two secretaries, which directs all the business of the section; (c) the representation in the presidium is proportional to the membership of this or that party group.

4. Election of the Presidium and Executive Committee: (a) The members of the Soviet, in each section, elect a presidium, which is chosen at a general meeting by a universal, direct, equal and secret vote, in the proportion and number indicated in paragraph 3 (Sections of the Soviet); (b) the presidia of all sections of the Soviet constitute the general presidium of the Soviet, which elects from its membership a general chairman of all sections, two vice-chairmen, and two secretaries; (c) besides the presidium, the general assembly of the Soviet elects from its membership an executive committee, proportionate to the membership of each party group (not section), so arranged that the membership of the executive committee shall not exceed one-fourth of the entire membership of the Soviet; (d) the members of the presidium form a part of the membership of the Executive Committee on an equal basis with the other members.

5. The Functions of the Presidium: (a) The presidium is the directing organ of the entire Soviet and decides independently all matters which cannot suffer delay; (b) the presidium meets not less than four times a week; (c) the presidium renders an account of its activity to the executive committee and to the entire Soviet, who have the right to recall them and to replace them at any time and period; (d) the presidium must in its actively abide strictly by the instructions of the executive committee and the general assembly.

6. The Executive Committee and its Functions: (a) The executive committee of the Soviet is an organ formed out of the membership of the Soviet (paragraph 4). The president, or one of the vice-presidents of the Soviet is the chairman of the executive committee (paragraph 4); (b) all current business of the Soviet is decided and carried on by the executive committee, and only matters of particular importance are submitted to the decision of the general assembly of the Soviet; (c) questions considered by the executive committee are passed or rejected by a relative majority of votes. On questions of extraordinary importance a minority report is received, entered upon the records, and reported to the general assembly; (d) ques-

tions are decided by an open vote, and only in matters of extraordinary importance, at the request of members of the executive committee, by a secret ballot; (e) a session of the executive committee is considered legal when not less than one-half of its membership is present; (f) members of the executive committee who for one reason or another cannot attend a session of the executive committee must notify the member of the executive committee on duty to that effect not later than half an hour before the opening of the session; (g) members of the executive committee who have been absent from three sessions without sufficient reason are deprived of the right to vote at two sessions, and the presidium notifies their constituents regarding the case; (h) the executive committee meets once a week (irrespective of special sessions); (i) special sessions, to consider questions of extraordinary importance, are called by the chairman or the vice-chairmen or by three members of the executive committee; (j) members of the executive committee must be notified of a special session by a summons not later than two hours before the opening of the session; (k) a special session is legal with any number of members present; (l) the sessions of the executive committee may be open or executive; (m) members of the executive committee are on duty in the reception rooms of the Soviet, one from each section, by turns.

7. General sessions: (a) general sessions of the Soviets are called by the presidium whenever necessity arises, but not less than twice a month; (b) general sessions may be regarded as legal when half of the entire membership of the Soviet is present; special sessions, when any number are present; (c) all questions submitted for the consideration of the general assembly must first be passed upon either by the executive committee or by the presidium; (d) a general session may be called also at the request of one-fifth of the membership of the Soviet; (e) admission to the sessions of the Soviet is by ticket only; (f) the sessions may be open or executive by decision of the presidium or of the assembly itself.

8. Committees: (a) committees are elected in each case by the general assembly, by the executive committee, or by the presidium; (b) the membership of a committee is determined by the assembly; (c) the chairman of each committee makes a report about the work of the committee to the general assembly of the Soviet, the executive committee, and the presidium; (d) auditing committees, control committees, etc., for the examination of the Soviet affairs, are selected only by the general assembly of the Soviet; (e) each committee has the right of independent coöptation of learned persons with the privilege of a consulting vote.

Instructions regarding the Rights and Duties of Soviets

1. Soviets of Workmen's, Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies, being local organs, are quite independent in regard to questions of a local character, but always act in accord with the decrees of the central Soviet Government as well as of the larger bodies (district, provincial and regional Soviets) of which they form a part.

2. Upon the Soviets, as organs of government, devolve the tasks of administration and service in all departments of local life—administrative, economic, financial and educational.

3. Under administration, the Soviets carry out all decrees and decisions of the central Government, take measures for giving the people the widest information about those decisions, issue obligatory ordinances, make requisitions and confiscations, impose fines, suppress counter-revolutionary organs of the press, make arrests, and dissolve public organizations which incite active opposition or the overthrow of the Soviet Government.

Note: The Soviets render a report to the central Soviet Government regarding all measures undertaken by them and important local events.

4. The Soviets elect from their number an executive organ which is charged with the duty of carrying out their decisions and the performance of the current work of administration.

Note 1: The Military-Revolutionary Committees, as fighting organs which came into existence during the revolution, are abolished.

Note 2: As a temporary measure, it is permitted to appoint Commissaries in those provinces and districts where the power of the Soviet is not sufficiently well-established or where the Soviet Government is not exclusively recognized.

5. The Soviets, being organs of government, are allowed credits from state funds for three months upon the presentation of detailed budgets.

Instructions regarding the Organization of Soviets

At the session of the collegium under the People's Commissary for Internal Affairs, on January 9, 1918, instructions as to the organization of Soviets of Workmen's, Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies were voted as follows:

In all Soviets, in place of the old, antiquated government institutions, the following departments or commissariats must first be organized:

1. Administration, in charge of the domestic and foreign relations of the Republic and technically unifying all the other departments.

2. Finances, whose duty is the compilation of the local budget, the collection of local and state taxes, the carrying out of measures for the nationalization of the banks, the administration of the People's Bank, control over the disbursement of national funds, etc.

3. Board of National Economy, which organizes the manufacture of most necessary products of factory, mill, and home industries, determines the amount of raw materials and fuel, obtains and distributes them, organizes and supplies the rural economy, etc.

4. Land, whose duty is to make an exact survey of the land, forests, waters, and other resources, and their distribution for purposes of utilization.

5. Labor, which must organize and unite trade unions, factory and mill committees, peasant associations, etc., and also create insurance organizations of all kinds.

6. Ways of Communication, whose duty is the taking of measures for the nationalization of the railways and steamship enterprises, the direction of this most important branch of the national economy, the building of new roads of local importance, etc.

7. Post, Telegraph and Telephone, which must aid and develop these state enterprises.

8. Public Education, which looks after the education and instruction of the population in the school and out of school, establishes new schools, kindergartens, universities, libraries, clubs, etc., carries out measures for the nationalization of printing-shops, the publication of necessary periodicals and books and their circulation among the population, etc.

9. Legal, which must liquidate the old courts, organize people's and arbitration courts, take charge of places of detention, reform them, etc.

10. Medical-Sanitary, whose duty is sanitary-hygienic supervision, the organization of medical aid accessible to all, sanitary equipment of urban and rural settlements, etc.

11. Public Realty, whose duty is the regulation of the housing problem, supervision over confiscated and public buildings, the construction of new ones, etc.

Note: Soviets are advised to utilize the organizational apparatus of Zemstvo and municipal institutions, with appropriate changes, when forming the departments.

At the same session was passed the draft of the decree fixing the boundaries of provinces, districts, etc., as follows:

1. Questions of changes of boundaries of provinces, districts, or townships are to be settled entirely by the local Soviets

of Workmen's, Soldiers', Peasants', and Laborers' Deputies.

2. When parts of one province or territory are included in another, the technical questions and misunderstandings which arise are dealt with by mixed commissions of the interested Provincial Soviets or their congress.

3. A similar procedure is followed when the boundaries of a district or township are rectified at the expense of another.

4. Territories, provinces, districts and townships may also be divided into parts, forming new administrative economic units.

5. Detailed data regarding all such changes are reported to the Commissary for Internal Affairs.

The People's Court

THE Council of People's Commissaries resolves:

1. To abolish all existing general legal institutions, such as district courts, courts of appeal, and the governing Senate with all its departments, military and naval courts of all grades, as well as commercial courts, and to replace all these institutions with courts established on the basis of democratic elections.

Regarding further procedure and the continuation of unfinished cases a special decree will be issued.

Beginning October 25 of this year, the passage of time limits is stopped until the issuance of a special decree.

2. To abolish the existing institution of justices of the peace, and to replace the justices of the peace heretofore elected by indirect vote, by local courts consisting of a permanent local judge and two jurors, the latter of whom are summoned in pairs to each session from special lists of jurors. Local judges are henceforth to be elected on the basis of direct democratic vote, and, until the time of such elections, are to be chosen by regional and township Soviets, or, where there are none such, by district, city, and provincial Soviets of Workmen's, Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies.

These same Soviets make up the lists of alternating jurors and determine the time of their presence at the session.

The former justices of the peace are not deprived of the right to be elected as local judges, either temporarily by the Soviets or finally by a democratic election, if they express their consent thereto.

Local judges adjudicate all civil cases to an amount not exceeding 3,000 roubles, and criminal cases if the accused is liable to a penalty of not more than two years' deprivation of freedom. The verdicts and rulings of the local courts are final and no appeal can be taken against them. In cases in which the recovery of over 100 roubles in money or deprivation of freedom for more than seven days is adjudged, a request for review is allowed.

The court of cassation is the district session, and in the capitals the metropolitan session, of local judges.

For the trial of criminal cases at the fronts, local judges are elected by regimental Soviets in the same order, and where there are none, by the regimental committees.

Regarding procedure in other legal cases, a special decree will be issued.

3. To abolish all existing institutions of investigating magistrates and the procurator's office, as well as the grades of counsellors-at-law and private attorneys.

Until the reformation of the entire system of legal procedure, the preliminary investigation in criminal cases is made by the local judges singly, but their orders of personal detention and indictment must be confirmed by the decision of the entire local court.

As to the functions of prosecutors and counsel for defense, who are allowed even in the stage of preliminary investigation, and in civil cases the functions of solicitors, all citizens of moral integrity, of either sex, who enjoy civil rights, are allowed to perform them.

4. For the transfer and further direction of cases and suits, proceedings of the legal bodies as well as of officials engaged in preliminary investigation and the procurator's office, and also of the associations of counsellors-at-law, the respective local Soviets elect special commissaries, who take charge of the archives and the properties of those bodies.

All the lower and clerical personnel of the abolished institutions are ordered to continue in their positions and to perform, under the general direction of the commissaries, all duties necessary in order to dispose of unfinished cases, and also to give information on appointed days to interested persons about the state of their cases.

5. Local judges try cases in the name of the Russian Republic, and are guided in their rulings and verdicts by the laws of the Governments which have been overthrown only in so far as those laws are not annulled by the revolution, and do not contradict the revolutionary conscience and revolutionary conception of right.

NOTE: All those laws are considered annulled which contradict the decrees of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets of Workmen's, Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies and the Workmen's and Peasants' Government, also the minimum programmes of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party and the party of Socialist-Revolutionaries.

6. In all civil as well as criminal cases the parties may resort to the arbitration court. The organization of the arbitration court will be determined by a special decree.

7. The right of pardon and restoration of rights of persons convicted in criminal cases belongs henceforth to the legal authorities.

8. For the struggle against the counter-revolutionary forces by means of measures for the defense of the revolution and its accomplishments, and also for the trial of proceedings against profiteering, speculation, sabotage, and other misdeeds of merchants, manufacturers, officials and other persons, workmen's and peasants' revolutionary tribunals are established, consisting of a chairman and six jurors, serving in turn, elected by provincial or city Soviets of Workmen's, Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies.

For the conduct of the preliminary investigation in such cases, special investigating commissions are formed under the above Soviets.

All existing investigating commissions are abolished, and their cases and proceedings are transferred to the newly formed investigating commissions.

November 24, 1917

Instructions to the Revolutionary Tribunal

THE Revolutionary Tribunal is guided by the following instructions:

1. The Revolutionary Tribunal has jurisdiction in cases of persons (a) who organize uprisings against the authority of the Workmen's and Peasants' Government, actively oppose the latter or do not obey it, or call upon other persons to oppose or disobey it; (b) who utilize their position in the state or public service to disturb or hamper the regular progress of work in the institution or enterprise in which they are or have been serving (sabotage, concealing or destroying documents or property, etc.); (c) who stop or reduce production of articles of general use without actual necessity for so doing; (d) who violate the decrees, orders, binding ordinances and other published acts of the organs of the Workmen's and Peasants' Government, if such acts stipulate a trial by the Revolutionary Tribunal for their violation; (e) who, taking advantage of their social or administrative position, misuse the authority given them by the revolutionary people. Crimes against the people committed by means of the press are under the jurisdiction of a specially instituted Revolutionary Tribunal.

2. The Revolutionary Tribunal for offenses indicated in Arti-

cle 1 imposes upon the guilty the following penalties: (1) fine, (2) deprivation of freedom, (3) exile from the capitals, from particular localities, or from the territory of the Russian Republic, (4) public censure, (5) declaring the offender a public enemy, (6) deprivation of all or some political rights, (7) sequestration or confiscation, partial or general, of property, (8) sentence of compulsory public work.

The Revolutionary Tribunal fixes the penalty, being guided by the circumstances of the case and dictates of the revolutionary conscience.

3. (a) The Revolutionary Tribunal is elected by the Soviets of Workmen's, Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies and consists of one permanent chairman, two permanent substitutes, one permanent secretary and two substitutes, and forty jurors. All persons, except the jurors, are elected for three months and may be recalled by the Soviets before the expiration of the term.

(b) The jurors are selected for one month from a general list of jurors by the Executive Committees of the Soviets of Workmen's, Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies by drawing lots, and lists of jurors numbering six, and one or two in addition, are made up for each session.

(c) The session of each successive jury of the Revolutionary Tribunal lasts not longer than one week.

(d) A stenographic record is kept of the entire proceedings of the Revolutionary Tribunal.

(e) The grounds for instituting proceedings are: reports of legal and administrative institutions and officials, public, trade, and party organizations, and private persons.

(f) For the conduct of the preliminary investigation in such cases an investigating commission is created under the Revolutionary Tribunal, consisting of six members elected by the Soviets of Workmen's, Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies.

(g) Upon receiving information or complaint, the investigating commission examines it and within 48 hours either orders the dismissal of the case, if it does not find that a crime has been committed, or transfers it to the proper jurisdiction, or brings it up for trial at the session of the Revolutionary Tribunal.

(h) The orders of the investigating commission about arrests, searches, abstracts of papers, and releases of detained persons are valid if issued jointly by three members. In cases which do not permit of delay such orders may be issued by any member of the investigating commission singly, on the condition that within twelve hours the measure shall be approved by the investigating commission.

(i) The order of the investigating commission is carried out by the Red Guard, the militia, the troops, and the executive organs of the Republic.

(j) Complaints against the decisions of the investigating commission are submitted to the Revolutionary Tribunal through its president and are considered at executive sessions of the Revolutionary Tribunal.

(k) The investigating commission has the right: (a) to demand of all departments and officials, as well as of all local self-governing bodies, legal institutions and authorities, public notaries, social and trade organizations, commercial and industrial enterprises, and governmental, public, and private credit institutions, the delivery of necessary documents and information, and of unfinished cases; (b) to examine, through its members or special representatives, the transactions of all above enumerated institutions and officials in order to secure necessary information.

4. The sessions of the Revolutionary Tribunal are public.

5. The verdicts of the Revolutionary Tribunal are rendered by a majority of votes of the members of the Tribunal.

6. The legal investigation is made with the participation of the prosecution and defence.

7. (a) Citizens of either sex who enjoy political rights are admitted at the will of the parties as prosecutors and counsel for the defence, with the right to participate in the case.

(b) Under the Revolutionary tribunals a collegium of persons is created who devote themselves to the service of the law, in

the form of public prosecution as well as of public defence.

(c) The above-mentioned collegium is formed by the free registration of all persons who desire to render aid to revolutionary justice, and who present recommendations from the Soviets of Workmen's, Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies.

8. The Revolutionary Tribunal may invite for each case a public prosecutor from the membership of the above-named collegium.

9. If the accused does not for some reason use his right to invite counsel for defence, the Revolutionary Tribunal, at his request, appoints a member of the collegium for his defence.

10. Besides the above-mentioned prosecutors and defence, one prosecutor and one counsel for defence drawn from the public present at the session, may take part in the court's proceedings.

11. The verdicts of the Revolutionary Tribunal are final. In case of violation of the form of procedure established by these instructions, or the discovery of indications of obvious injustice in the verdict, the People's Commissary of Justice has the right to address to the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies a request to order a second and last trial of the case.

12. The maintenance of the Revolutionary Tribunal is charged to the account of the state. The amount of compensation and the daily fees are fixed by the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies. The jurors receive the difference between the daily fees and their daily earnings, if the latter are less than the daily fees; at the same time the jurors may not be deprived of their positions during the session.

December 19, 1917

The Revolutionary Tribunal of the Press

1. Under the Revolutionary Tribunal is created a Revolutionary Tribunal of the Press. This Tribunal will have jurisdiction of crimes and offences against the people committed by means of the press.

2. Crimes and offences by means of the press are the publication and circulation of any false or perverted reports and information about events of public life, in so far as they constitute an attempt upon the rights and interests of the revolutionary people.

3. The Revolutionary Tribunal of the Press consists of three members, elected for a period not longer than three months by the Soviet of Workmen's, Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies. These members are charged with the conduct of the preliminary investigation as well as the trial of the case.

4. The following serve as grounds for instituting proceedings: reports of legal or administrative institutions, public organizations, or private persons.

5. The prosecution and defence are conducted on the principles laid down in the instructions to the general Revolutionary Tribunal.

6. The sessions of the Revolutionary Tribunal of the Press are public.

7. The decisions of the Revolutionary Tribunal of the Press are final and are not subject to appeal.

8. The Revolutionary Tribunal imposes the following penalties: (1) fine, (2) expression of public censure, which the convicted organ of the Press brings to the general knowledge in a way indicated by the Tribunal, (3) the publication in a prominent place or in a special edition of a denial of the false report, (4) temporary or permanent suppression of the publication or its exclusion from circulation, (5) confiscation to national ownership of the printing-shop or property of the organ of the Press if it belongs to the convicted parties.

9. The trial of an organ of the press by the Revolutionary Tribunal of the Press does not absolve the guilty persons from general criminal responsibility.

December 18, 1917

To the Soviet of Workmen's, Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies, a Request for the Immediate Election of Commissaries of Justice, Their Duties and Rights

BY the decree of the Council of the People's Commissaries [November 24, 1917] the general legal institutions and justices' courts, the procurator's office, the institutions of investigating magistrates, counsellors-at-law and private attorneys, are abolished. Until the creation of permanent legal institutions, elect immediately Commissaries of Justice.

The duties of the elected Commissaries are the safe-keeping of archives and the property of the courts, the direction of unfinished cases, and the giving of information to interested persons. In view of the approach of the time for rendering semi-annual and annual financial reports for 1917, the elected Commissaries are requested to take measures for the immediate preparation and delivery of the above-mentioned reports in the established form and order. The publications of the official "Gazette of the Provisional Workmen's and Peasants' Government" are to serve as a guide to the local authorities.

Report the beginning of the activity of the new courts, their structure, the names of the Commissaries of Justice. Report the tentative budgets of the legal department for 1918.

The credits of the legal department which were not used locally in 1917, you may use by order of the Soviets.

Instructions for the Revolutionary Tribunal of the Press, and for general courts, criminal and civil, are being prepared.

Decree concerning Marriage, Children, and Registration of Civil Status

THE Russian Republic henceforth recognizes civil marriage only.

Civil marriage is performed on the basis of the following rules:

1. Persons who wish to contract marriage declare [their intention] orally or by a written statement to the department of registration of marriages and births at the city hall (regional, district, township, Zemstvo institutions), according to the place of their residence.

NOTE: Church marriage is a private affair of those contracting it, while civil marriage is obligatory.

2. Declarations of intention to contract marriage are not accepted (a) from persons of the male sex younger than 18 years, and of the female sex, 16 years of age; in Transcaucasia the native inhabitants may enter into marriage upon attaining the age of 16 for the groom and 13 for the bride; (b) from relatives in the direct line, full and half-brothers and sisters; consanguinity is recognized also between a child born out of wedlock and his descendants on one side and relatives on the other; (c) from married persons, and (d) from insane.

3. Those wishing to contract marriage appear at the department of registration of marriages and sign a statement concerning the absence of the obstacles to contracting marriage enumerated in Article 2 of this decree, and also a statement that they contract marriage voluntarily.

Those guilty of deliberately making false statements about the absence of the obstacles enumerated in Article 2 are criminally prosecuted for false statements and the marriage is declared invalid.

4. Upon the signing of the above-mentioned statement, the director of the department of registration of marriages records the act of marriage in the book of marriage registries and then declares the marriage to have become legally effective.

When contracting marriage the parties are allowed to decide freely whether they will henceforth be called by the surname of the husband or wife or by a combined surname.

As proof of the act of marriage, the contracting parties immediately receive a copy of the certificate of their marriage. . . .

5. Complaints against the refusal to perform marriage or incorrect registration are lodged, without limitation of time, with the local judge in the locality where the department of registration of marriage is; the ruling of the local judge on such complaint may be appealed in the usual way.

6. In case the former books of registration of marriages have been destroyed, or lost in some other way, or if for some other cause married persons cannot obtain a certificate of their marriage, those persons are given the right to submit a declaration to the respective department of registration of marriages, according to the place of residence of both parties or one of them, to the effect that they have been in the state of wedlock since such and such time. Such declaration is attested, in addition to the statement stipulated by Article 3, by a further statement of the parties that the book of registration has really been lost or that for some other sufficient cause they cannot obtain a copy of the certificate.

Registration of Births.

7. The registration of the birth of a child is made by the same department of registration of marriages and births in the place of residence of the mother, and a special entry of each birth is made in the book of registration of births. . . .

8. The birth of a child must be reported to the department either by his parents or one of them, or by the persons in whose care, because of the death of his parents, the child remained, with an indication of the name and surname adopted for the child and the presentation of two witnesses to attest the fact of birth.

9. The books of registration of marriages as well as the books of registration of births are kept in two copies, and one copy is sent at the end of the year to the proper court for preservation.

10. Children born out of wedlock are on an equality with those born in wedlock with regard to the rights and duties of parents toward children, and likewise of children toward parents.

The persons who make a declaration and give a signed statement to that effect are registered as the father and mother of the child.

Those guilty of deliberately making false statements regarding the above are criminally prosecuted for false testimony and the registration is declared invalid.

In case the father of a child born out of wedlock does not make such a declaration, the mother of the child or the guardian or the child itself has the right to prove fatherhood by legal means.

Registration of Deaths.

11. The record of the death of a person is made in the place where the death occurred by the department which has charge of the registration of marriages and births, by entry in a special book for registration of deaths. . . .

12. The death of a person must be reported to the department by the legal or administrative authorities or persons in whose care the deceased was.

13. Institutions in charge of cemeteries are henceforth forbidden to place obstacles in the way of the burial on cemetery grounds in accordance with the ritual of civil funerals.

14. All religious and administrative institutions which hitherto have had charge of the registration of marriages, births and deaths according to the customs of any religious cult, are ordered to transfer immediately all their registration books to the respective municipal, district, rural and Zemstvo administrations.

December 18, 1917

Decree regarding Divorce

1. Marriage is annulled by the petition of both parties or even one of them.

2. The above petition is submitted, according to the rules of local jurisdiction, to the local court.

Note: A declaration of annulment of marriage by mutual consent may be filed directly with the department of registration of marriages in which a record of that marriage is kept, which department makes an entry of the annulment of the marriage in the record and issues a certificate.

3. On the day appointed for the examination of the petition for the annulment of marriage, the local judge summons both parties or their solicitors.

4. If the residence of the party who is to be summoned is unknown, the petitioner is allowed to file the petition for annulment of marriage in the place of residence of the absent party last known to the petitioner, or in the place of residence of the petitioner, stating to the court, however, the last known place of residence of the defendant.

5. If the place of residence of the party who is to be summoned is unknown, then the day for the trial of the case is set not earlier than the expiration of two months from the day of the publication of a notice of summons in the local Government gazette, and the summons is sent to the address of the last known place of residence of the defendant given by the petitioner.

6. Having convinced himself that the petition for the annulment of the marriage really comes from both parties or from one of them, the judge personally and singly renders the decision of the annulment of the marriage and issues a certificate thereof to the parties. At the same time, the judge transmits a copy of his decision to the department of registration of marriages where the annulled marriage was performed and where the book containing a record of this marriage is kept.

7. When annulling a marriage by mutual consent, the parties are obliged to state in their petition what surnames the divorced parties and their children are to bear in the future. But when dissolving the marriage by the petition of one of the parties, and in the absence of an understanding about this matter between the parties, the divorced parties preserve their own surnames, and the surname of the children is determined by the judge, and in case of disagreement of the parties, by the local court.

8. In case the parties are agreed on the matter, the judge, simultaneously with the decision of annulment of the marriage, determines with which of the parents the minor children begotten of the marriage shall live, and which of the parents must bear the expense of maintenance and education of the children, and to what extent and also whether and to what extent the husband is obliged to furnish food and maintenance to his divorced wife.

9. But if no understanding shall be reached, then the participation of the husband in furnishing his divorced wife with food and maintenance when she has no means of her own or has insufficient means and is unable to work, as well as the question with whom the children are to live, are decided by a regular civil suit in the local court, irrespective of the amount of the suit. The judge, having rendered the decision annulling the marriage, determines temporarily, until the settlement of the dispute, the fate of the children, and also rules on the question of the temporary maintenance of the children and the wife, if she is in need of it.

10. Suits for adjudging marriages illegal or invalid belong henceforth to the jurisdiction of the local court.

11. The operation of this law extends to all citizens of the Russian Republic irrespective of their adherence to this or that religious cult.

12. All suits for annulment of marriage which are now tried in ecclesiastical consistories of the department of Greek-Catholic

and other denominations, in the governing synod and all other institutions of the Christian and non-Christian religions, and by officials in charge of ecclesiastical affairs of all denominations, and in which no decisions have been rendered or the decisions already rendered have not become legally effective, are declared by reason of this law null and void, and are subject to immediate transfer to the local district courts for safe-keeping, with all archives in the possession of the above-enumerated institutions and persons having jurisdiction in divorce suits. The parties are given the right to file a new petition for the annulment of the marriage according to this decree, without awaiting the dismissal of the first suit, and a new summons for absent parties (paragraphs 4 and 5) is not obligatory if such a summons was published in the former order.

December 18, 1917

Eight-Hour Law

1. This law applies to all establishments and industries irrespective of their size or to whom they belong, and to all persons employed in hired labor.

2. The working time, or the number of working hours in a day, is considered to be the time during which, according to the contract of employment (Articles 48, 60, 96, 98, and 103 of the Industrial Labor law), the workman is obliged to be in the industrial establishment at the disposal of its superintendent for the performance of the work.

Note 1. In underground work the time taken by the descent into the mine and ascent to the surface is considered working time.

Note 2. The working time of workmen sent to perform any kind of labor beyond the boundaries of an establishment is determined by special agreement with the workmen.

3. The working time fixed by the rules governing the internal organization of the establishment (Clause 1, Article 103 of the Industrial Labor law) must not exceed 8 working hours in a day and 48 hours in a week, including therein also the time employed in cleaning the engine and in putting the premises in order.

On Christmas eve (December 24) and on the Pentecost holiday (Whitsunday) work is stopped at eleven o'clock in the morning.

4. Not later than six hours after the commencement of work a free interval for rest and eating must be designated. The interval must not be shorter than one hour.

Free recesses during work are those which are fixed by the rules of the internal organization; during such recesses the workman is free to dispose of his time and to leave the boundaries of the establishment.

During the free recesses in working time the engines, lathes, and benches must be stopped; exceptions from this rule are allowed only for those over-time works which are performed in accordance with Articles 18-22 of this law, as well as for engines and motors which are working for ventilation, water supply, lighting, etc.; moreover, work may not be stopped in those manufacturing in which stoppage is impossible for technical reasons (such as unfinished casting or unfinished polishing).

Note 1. Establishments whose work is recognized by law or by the main chamber of labor as continuous and which is performed in three shifts a day, do not observe the rules regarding recesses, but are obliged to give the workman the right to take food during his work.

Note 2. If a workman, owing to the conditions of his work, can not absent himself from the place of work to take food, then a room or place is to be provided for him for that purpose. The setting aside of a special room for the above purpose is obligatory for those workmen who, when working, come in contact with materials recognized by the rulings of the main board of factory and mining industries (or the organ taking its place) as injurious to the health of the workmen (lead, mercury, etc.).

5. The general duration of all recesses during 24 hours shall not exceed two hours.

6. Night time is considered the time between 9 o'clock in the evening and 6 o'clock in the morning.

7. In the night time it is forbidden to utilize the labor of workers of the female sex, or of workers of the male sex under sixteen years of age.

8. For enterprises working two shifts of workmen, the night time is considered from 9 o'clock in the evening until 5 o'clock in the morning, while the free recesses (Art. 4) may be reduced to half an hour for each shift.

9. In those cases where, by request of the workers (for instance, in brick works) or on account of climatic conditions, it is desired to make the midday recess more lengthy, the main board of factory and mining industries (or the organ taking its place) may permit a corresponding departure from the rules in Articles 4, 5, 6, and 8 of this statute.

10. When hiring minors under 18 years of age the following rules in addition to the above are applied: (a) minors under 14 years are not permitted to work for hire; (b) the working time of minors under 18 may not be longer than 6 hours a day.

Note. Beginning January 1, 1919, all persons who have not reached 15 years are not permitted to work for hire, and beginning January 1, 1920, those who have not reached 20 years of age.

11. In the table of holidays on which work is stopped (Cl. 2, Art. 103 of Industrial Labor law) are included all Sundays and the following holidays: January 1, January 6, February 27, March 25, May 1, August 15, September 14, December 25 and 26, Friday and Saturday of Passion week, Monday and Tuesday of Easter week, Ascension Day, and the second day of Pentecost.

Note 1. For non-Christians it is permitted to include other holidays instead of Sundays, according to the precepts of their religion; of the remaining holidays mentioned in this article only those are obligatory for them which are not indicated in the following note.

Note 2. By the consent of the majority of workmen of an establishment or industry, or a part of them, the holidays of January 1 and 6, August 15, September 14, December 26, Saturday of Passion week and Easter Monday may be replaced by other free days.

12. In one-shift day work the least duration of the Sunday and holiday rest given each workman is fixed at 42 hours. In two-shift work with two complements of workmen, and in three-shift work with three complements of workmen, the least duration of a Sunday and holiday rest for each workman is fixed by agreement with the workmen's organizations.

13. By mutual agreement of the superintendent of the establishment or industry with the people employed by it, the latter may, as a departure from the rules about holidays indicated in Article 11, be engaged in work on a holiday instead of on a weekday. Such an understanding must immediately be reported to the proper officials who look after the execution of this law.

14. The main board of factory and mining industries (or the organ taking its place) is given the right to issue regulations permitting, to the extent of real necessity, departures from the rules set forth in Articles 3, 4, 5, and 8 for those establishments which, by the nature of their production for the satisfaction of public needs, must perform the work in the night time or must work irregularly at different seasons of the year (for instance, work for lighting and water supply of cities).

15. In manufactories and works in which the workmen are subjected to the operation of particularly unfavorable conditions, or to dangers of occupational poisoning (such as work in an extraordinarily high temperature, in mercury and bleaching factories, etc.), the working time indicated in Articles 3-5 and 8 is subject to further reduction. A list of such works and manufactories, with the indication of the duration of the working time permissible in each line of work, as well as other conditions of the work, is to be compiled by the main board of factory and mining industries (or the organ which takes its place).

16. Women and youths of either sex under 18 years of age are not permitted to work underground.

17. A departure from the rules stated in Articles 3-5 and 8-12 is permitted by agreement with the workmen and with the approval of the workmen's organizations with regard to workmen engaged in auxiliary work, such as repairs, care of boilers, motors, lathes, factory heating, water supply, lighting of the factory buildings, guard and fire duty, and in general such work without whose preliminary performance the industrial enterprise can not be put in operation at the fixed time and which must of necessity be performed after the stoppage of the work.

18. The work which is performed by the workman at a time when, according to the tables of working time, he is not supposed to work is considered over-time. Over-time work is permitted only when conditions stated in Articles 19-23 of this statute are observed and when it is paid for at a double rate.

19. All persons of the female sex, and persons of the male sex who have not reached 18 years of age, are not permitted to work over-time.

20. Workmen of the male sex older than 18 years may work over-time with the permission of the workmen's organization only in the following cases: (a) when over-time work is necessary in order to finish in time the work begun, which because of unforeseen and accidental delay could not by the mechanical conditions of production be finished in the normal working time (according to the rules of the establishment), and when the stoppage of that work at the set time might cause danger or injury to materials and the mechanism (work with chemical processes, casting, etc., may be considered of that nature); (b) for the performance of work necessary to avert danger to life or property, or for the removal of accidental causes which have disturbed the technical conditions necessary for the regular water supply, lighting, sanitation, and urgent public communication; (c) when working on necessary repairs in case of sudden injury to boilers, motors, lathes, and, in general, unforeseen derangement of mechanisms, apparatus, or structures (buildings, dams, etc.) which cause the stoppage of the work of the entire establishment or any of its branches; (d) when performing temporary work in any branch of the establishment in cases where because of fire, break-down, or unforeseen circumstances, the work of one or other branch of the establishment was stopped for some time or entirely and when this work is necessary for the full operation of the other branches of the establishment.

21. In such a case as is mentioned in the last paragraph of Article 20 it is necessary to obtain from the commissar of labor or labor inspector a special permit for over-time work; and in the application for such permit the daily duration of such work and the time during which it will be performed must be indicated. About over-time work specified in Clauses b and c of Article 20, ordinary notice is given.

22. All over-time work is recorded in the workmen's account books by special entry, with an indication of the pay due for it; in addition, a special over-time account has to be kept in the office books for each workman separately.

23. Over-time work under conditions stated in Articles 19-22 is allowed on not more than 50 days in a year for each separate establishment, and each day of over-time work in a branch is counted even if on that day only one workman did over-time work in that branch.

24. The duration of over-time work of each individual workman must in no case exceed four hours for two days in succession.

25. For some time, until the end of military operations, in the establishments working for defence, the rules limiting the duration of over-time work (Articles 19-24) and those about recesses during the work (Articles 4-6) may be suspended by agreement with the workmen and the workmen's organizations.

26. This law is to be put into operation by telegraph and becomes effective immediately. For its violation offenders are liable to imprisonment for a period not longer than one year.

October 29, 1917

Regulation concerning the Administration of National Undertakings

PART I.

1. The Central Administration of Nationalized Undertakings, of whatever branch of industry, assigns for each large nationalized undertaking technical and administrative directors, in whose hands are placed the actual administration and direction of the entire activity of the undertaking. They are responsible to the Central Administration and the Commissioner appointed by it.

2. The technical director appoints technical employees and gives all orders regarding the technical administration of the undertaking. The factory committee may, however, complain regarding these appointments and orders to the Commissioner of the Central Administration, and then to the Central Administration itself; but only the Commissioner and Central Administration may stop the appointments and order of the technical director.

3. In connection with the Administrative Director there is an Economic Administrative Council, consisting of delegates from laborers, employees, and engineers of the undertaking. The Council examines the estimates of the undertaking, the plan of its works, the rules of internal distribution, complaints, the material and moral conditions of the work and life of the workmen and employees, and likewise all questions regarding the progress of the undertaking.

4. On questions of a technical character relating to the enterprise the Council has only a consultative voice, but on other questions a decisive voice, on condition, however, that the Administrative Director appointed by the Central Administration has the right to appeal from the orders of the Council to the Commissioner of the Central Administration.

5. The duty of acting upon decisions of the Economic Administrative Council belongs to the Administrative Director.

6. The Council of the enterprise has the right to make representation to the Central Administration regarding a change of the directors of the enterprise, and to present its own candidates.

7. Depending on the size and importance of the enterprise, the Central Administration may appoint several technical and administrative directors.

8. The composition of the Economic Administrative Council of the enterprise consists of (a) a representative of the workmen of the undertaking; (b) a representative of the other employees; (c) a representative of the highest technical and commercial personnel; (d) the directors of the undertaking, appointed by the Central Administration; (e) representatives of the local or regional council of professional unions, of the people's economic council, of the council of workmen's deputies, and of the professional council of that branch of industry to which the given enterprise belongs; (f) a representative of the workmen's coöperative council, and (g) a representative of the Soviet of peasants' deputies of the corresponding region.

9. In the composition of the Economic Administrative Council of the enterprise, representatives of workmen and other employees, as mentioned in points (a) and (b) of Article 8, may furnish only half of the number of members.

10. The workmen's control of nationalized undertakings is realized by leaving all declarations and orders of the factory committee, or of the controlling commission, to the judgment and decision of the Economic Administrative Council of the enterprise.

11. The workmen, employees, and highest technical and commercial personnel of nationalized undertakings are in duty bound before the Russian Soviet Republic to observe severe industrial discipline, and to carry out conscientiously and accurately the work assigned to them. To the Economic Adminis-

trative Council are given judicial rights, including that of dismissal without notice for longer or shorter periods, together with the declaration of a boycott for non-proletariat recognition of their rights and duties.

12. In the case of those industrial branches for which central administrations have not yet been formed, all their rights are vested in provincial councils of the national economy, and in corresponding industrial sections of the Supreme Council of the National Economy.

13. The estimates and plan of work of a nationalized undertaking must be presented by its Economic Administrative Council to the central administration of a given industrial branch at least as often as once in three months, through the provincial organizations, where such have been established.

14. The management of nationalized undertakings, where such management has heretofore been organized on other principles because of the absence of a general plan and general orders for the whole of Russia, must now be reorganized, in accordance with the present regulation, within the next three months [i. e., by the end of May, new style].

15. For the consideration of the declarations of the Economic Administrative Council concerning the activity of the directors of the undertaking at the central administration of a given branch of industry, a special section is established, composed one-third of representatives of general governmental, political, and economic institutions of the proletariat, one-third of representatives of workmen and other employees of the given industrial branch, and one-third of representatives of the directing, technical and commercial personnel and its professional organizations.

16. The present order must be posted on the premises of each nationalized undertaking.

NOTE: Small nationalized enterprises are managed on similar principles, with the proviso that the duties of technical and administrative directors may be combined in one person, and the numerical strength of the Economic Administrative Council may be cut down by the omission of representatives of one or another institution or organization.

PART II.

17. A Central Administration [Principal Committee] for each nationalized branch of industry is to be established in connection with the Supreme Council of the National Economy, to be composed one-third of representatives of workmen and employees of a given industrial branch; one-third of representatives of the general proletariat, general governmental, political, and economic organizations and institutions (Supreme Council of National Economy, the People's Commissioners, All-Russian Council of Professional Unions, All-Russian Council of Workmen's Coöperative Unions, Central Executive Committee of the Councils of Workmen's Delegates) and one-third of representatives of scientific bodies, of the supreme technical and commercial personnel, and of democratic organizations of all Russia (Council of the Congresses of All Russia, coöperative unions of consumers, councils of peasants' deputies).

18. The Central Administration selects its bureau, for which all orders of the Central Administration are obligatory, which conducts the current work and carries into effect the general plans for the undertaking.

19. The Central Administration organizes provincial and local administrations of a given industrial branch, on principles similar to those on which its own organization is based.

20. The rights and duties of each Central Administration are indicated in the order concerning the establishment of each of them, but in each case each Central Administration unites, in its own hands (a) the management of the enterprises of a given industrial branch, (b) their financing, (c) their technical unification or reconstruction, (d) standardization of the working conditions of the given industrial branch.

21. All orders of the Supreme Council of National Economy are obligatory for each Central Administration; the Central Administration comes in contact with the Supreme Council in the

person of the bureau of productive organization of the Supreme Council of National Economy through the corresponding productive sections.

22. When the Central Administration for any industrial branch which has not yet been nationalized is organized, it has the right to sequester the enterprises of the given branch, and equally, without sequestration, to prevent its managers completely or in part from engaging in its administration, appoint commissioners, give orders, which are obligatory, to the owners of non-nationalized enterprises, and incur expenses on account of these enterprises for measures which the Central Administration may consider necessary; and likewise to combine into a technical whole separate enterprises or parts of the same, to transfer from some enterprises to others fuel and customers' orders, and establish prices upon articles of production and commerce.

23. The Central Administration controls imports and exports of corresponding goods for a period which it determines, for which purpose it forms a part of the general governmental organizations of external commerce.

24. The Central Administration has the right to concentrate in its hands and in institutions established by it, both the entire preparation of articles necessary for a given branch of industry (raw material, machinery, etc.), and the disposal to enterprises subject to it of all products and acceptance of orders for them.

PART III.

25. Upon the introduction of nationalization into any industrial branch, or into any individual enterprise, the corresponding Central Administration (or the temporary Central Administration appointed with its rights) takes under its management the nationalized enterprises, each separately, and preserves the large ones as separate administrative units, annexing to them the smaller ones.

26. Until the nationalized enterprises have been taken over by the Central Administration (or principal commissioner), all former managers or directorates must continue their work in its entirety in the usual manner, and under the supervision of the corresponding commissioner (if one has been appointed), taking all measures necessary for the preservation of the national property and for the continuous course of operations.

27. The Central Administration and its organs establish new managements and technical administrative directorates of enterprises.

28. Technical administrative directorates of nationalized enterprises are organized according to Part I of this Regulation.

29. The management of a large undertaking, treated as a separate administrative unit, is organized with a view to securing, in as large a measure as possible, the utilization of the technical and commercial experience accumulated by the undertaking; for which purpose there are included in the composition of the new management not only representatives of the laborers and employees of the enterprise (to the number of one-third of the general numerical strength of the management) and of the Central Administration itself (to the number of one-third or less, as the Central Administration shall see fit), but also, as far as possible, members of former managements, excepting persons specially removed by the Central Administration and, upon their refusal, representatives of any special competent organizations, even if they are not proletariat (to a number not exceeding one-third of the general membership of the management).

30. When nationalization is introduced, whether of the entire branch of the industry or of separate enterprises, the Central Administrations are permitted, in order to facilitate the change, to pay to the highest technical and commercial personnel their present salaries, and even, in case of refusal on their part to work and the impossibility of filling their places with other persons, to introduce for their benefit obligatory work and to bring suit against them.

31. The former management of each nationalized undertaking must prepare a report for the last year of operation and an inventory of the undertaking, in accordance with which inventory

the new management verifies the properties taken over. The actual taking over of the enterprise is done by the new management immediately upon its confirmation by the principal committee, without waiting for the presentation of the inventory and report.

32. Upon receipt in their locality of notice of the nationalization of some enterprise, and until the organization of the management and its administration by the Central Administration (or the principal commissioner, or institution having the rights of the principal commissioner) the workmen and employees of the given enterprise, and, if possible, also the Council of Workmen's Deputies, the Council of National Economy, and Council of Professional Unions, select temporary commissioners, under whose supervision and observation (and, if necessary, under whose management) the activity of the undertaking continues. The workmen and employees of the given enterprise, and the regional councils of national economy, of professional unions, and of workmen's delegates have the right also to organize temporary managements and directorates of nationalized enterprises until the same are completely established by the Central Administration.

33. If the initiative for the nationalization of a given enterprise comes, not from the general governmental and proletariat organs authorized for that purpose, but from the workmen of a given enterprise or from some local or regional organization, then they propose to the Supreme Council of National Economy, in the person of its bureau of organization of production, that the necessary steps be undertaken through the proper production sections, according to the decree of 28 February regarding the method of confiscating enterprises.

34. In exceptional cases local labor organizations are given the right to take temporarily under their management the given enterprise, if circumstances do not permit of awaiting the decision of the question in the regular order, but on condition that such action be immediately brought to the notice of the nearest provincial council of national economy, which then puts a temporary sequestration upon the enterprise pending the complete solution of the question of nationalization by the Supreme Council of National Economy; or, if it shall consider the reasons insufficient, or nationalization clearly inexpedient, or a prolonged sequestration unnecessary, it directs a temporary sequestration or even directly reestablishes the former management of the enterprise under its supervision, or introduces into the composition of the management representatives of labor organizations.

35. The present order must be furnished by the professional unions of all Russia to all their local divisions, and by the councils of factory committees to all factory committees, and must be published in full in the *Isvestia* of all provincial councils of workmen's and peasants' deputies.

Published March 7, 1918

The Supply of Agricultural Implements

To factory and mill committees and representatives of manufacturing enterprises.

THE Supreme Board of National Economy has now undertaken the organization of the entire business of supplying the agricultural population with agricultural machinery and implements. In order that all this work may be carried out successfully, it is necessary that the Supreme Board of National Economy should have at its disposal exact information about all those establishments which at this moment have already changed or are ready to change to the production of agricultural machinery. Only with all this information at hand will it be possible to organize systematically this branch of national economy, which is most important for the Russian Republic, and to avoid in the future those ills which may be caused by an unorganized change from war production to piece work.

Moreover, all the information is necessary for the apportionment of orders for agricultural machines and implements, which the Supreme Board of National Economy will soon place.

In view of what has been said, we urgently request all factory and mill committees and manufacturers, or their organizations, to furnish in writing the most complete information about their establishments which have to do with the manufacture of agricultural machinery, indicating the number of workmen, the machine equipment, and the possible minimum production per month, together with a statement of the machines and implements (type and patent), necessary in rural economy, for which they can take orders.

In view of the exceptional importance of the matter of supplying our rural economy, we respectfully request the provincial papers to reprint this appeal.

Orders of the People's Commissioner of Education of the Western Provinces and Front

THE following orders are selected from a group of six educational documents published at Petrograd, March 10, 1918. The omitted orders, Nos. 3-5, relate to the budget for 1919 and to routine matters. The private libraries mentioned in No. 2 apparently include only private circulating libraries.

No. 1.

To all primary and secondary educational institutions of the western provinces.

I propose to the administration of all the above-mentioned educational institutions, from the date of the publication of this order, not to discharge students for non-payment of dues. As to those who have already been discharged before this order was published, they must immediately be reinstated.

I propose to all departments of public education in local Soviets of Workmen's, Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies, to attend strictly to the carrying out of my order. The question of the legal position of students who have not paid their school dues will be explained in the near future.

No special notification will be given to each educational institution, and the present order becomes the law of the land from the date of its publication in the newspaper *Sovietskaya Pravda* [*Soviet Truth*].

No. 2.

Having in mind to afford to the large popular masses access to books, the Commissariat on Public Education will shortly proceed to regulate the library business and its reorganization on new principles. In view of this the Commissioner directs that:

I. All libraries found within the boundaries of the western provinces and front, and belonging to municipalities, public institutions, or organizations of various sorts, or to private persons, are taken over for the benefit of public educational institutions in local Soviets of Workmen's, Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies, and, in the city of Smolensk, by the local section of public education of the provincial commissariat.

II. All institutions, organizations, and private persons possessing libraries in the city of Smolensk must, within five days following the date of the publication of this order in the newspaper *Sovietskaya Pravda*, present to the commissariat on public education exact information concerning:

- (1) the location of the libraries belonging to them;
- (2) the number of volumes found in the libraries;
- (3) the contents of the libraries (complete catalogues of the books must be presented; and in case such do not exist, then general information concerning the character of the books collected);
- (4) the periodical publications subscribed to by the libraries;

(5) the number of subscribers;

(6) the rules adopted for the use of these books.

Note: This order does not affect persons who have libraries consisting of less than 500 volumes, if these libraries are not intended for public readers.

III. In case reading-rooms are found at those libraries, it is necessary to indicate:

- (1) the list of periodical publications found in the reading-room;
- (2) statistical data, if such are at hand, regarding the reading-room visitors.

IV. Institutions, organizations, and private persons possessing libraries outside the boundaries of the city of Smolensk and of the Government of Smolensk must present the information indicated above, within a week from the date of the publication of this order, in the proper section of local Soviets of Workmen's, Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies. The latter, upon receipt of the data, must furnish copies of the same to the Commissioner of Public Education of the Western Provinces and Front.

V. Those who fail to comply with this order will be turned over to the military revolutionary tribunal.

No. 6.

It is the duty of all owners of moving-picture houses in the city of Smolensk, from the date of the publication of this order in the newspaper *Sovietskaya Pravda*, to present for approval to the provincial commissariat on public education the programmes and librettos of the pictures proposed to be exhibited by them.

It is forbidden to show pictures not approved by the Commissariat.

In those cases in which the Commissariat shall find it necessary the pictures, before being shown to the public, must be shown for examination to persons specially designated by the Commissariat.

Moving-picture enterprises not complying with this order will be at once confiscated.

Decree Abolishing Inheritance

I. Inheritance, whether by law or by will, is abolished. After the death of an owner, the property which belonged to him, whether movable or immovable, becomes the property of the Government of the Russian Socialistic Soviet Federative Republic.

NOTE: The discontinuance and transfer of rights of utilization of farm lands is determined by the rules provided in the fundamental law of the socialization of the land.

II. Until the issuance of a decree dealing with general social arrangements, relatives who are in need (i. e., those who do not possess a minimum maintenance), and who are incapable of work—such relatives being in a directly ascending or descending line, full or half brothers or sisters, or spouse, of the deceased—receive support from the property left by the deceased.

NOTE 1. No distinction is made between the relationship that arises within wedlock and that which arises outside of wedlock.

NOTE 2. Adopted relatives or children and their descendants are put upon the same footing as relatives by descent whether as to those who adopted them or as to those who have been adopted.

III. If there is not enough of the property remaining to support a spouse and all surviving relatives, as enumerated above, then the most needy of them must be provided for first.

IV. The amount of allowance to be given a spouse and surviving relatives from the property of the deceased is determined by the institution conducting the affairs of social security in the Governments, and in Moscow and Petrograd by the municipal Soviets of Workmen's and Peasants' Deputies, in agreement with the persons who have the right to receive the allowance, and, in case of dispute between them, by the local court, according to the usual legal procedure. Cases of this sort are under

the jurisdiction of the Soviets of Workmen's and Peasants' Deputies and the local courts of the last place of residence of the deceased.

V. All property of the deceased, other than that enumerated in Article IX of this decree, comes under the jurisdiction of the local Soviet, which turns it over to the bureaus or institutions having control in those localities of similar property of the Russian Republic, according to the last place of residence of the deceased or according to the place where this property is situated.

VI. The local Soviet publishes, for the purpose of general notification, the death of the property owner, and calls upon the persons who have a right to receive support from the said property to appear within a year from the date of the publication.

VII. Those who do not declare their claims before the expiration of the year following the publication, as provided in the above article, lose their right to receive support from the property of the deceased.

VIII. From the property of the deceased are paid, first, the expenses of the administration of the property. The relatives and spouse of the deceased receive their allowances before the creditors are paid. The creditors of the deceased, if their claims are recognized as proper to be paid, are satisfied from the property after the deductions indicated above, on condition, in case the property is insufficient to cover all demands of the creditors, that the general principles of the meeting of creditors be applied.

IX. If the property of the deceased does not exceed 10,000 rubles, or in particular consists of a farm house, domestic furniture, and means for economical production by work, in either the city or the village, it comes under the immediate control of the spouse and relatives enumerated in Article II of the present decree, who are present. The method of control and management of the property is arranged by agreement between the spouse and relatives, and, in case of their disagreement, by the local tribunal.

X. The present decree is retroactive as regards all inheritances discovered before it was issued, if they have not yet been acquired by the heirs, or, if acquired, if they have not yet been taken possession of by the heirs.

XI. All suits now pending respecting inheritances, suits respecting the probate of wills, respecting the confirmation of the rights of inheritance, etc., are deemed to be discontinued, and the respective hereditary property is to be at once turned over for administration to the local Soviets or institutions indicated in Article V of the present decree.

NOTE: Concerning hereditary properties discovered before the present decree is issued—properties enumerated in Article IX of the present decree—a special regulation will be issued.

XII. The People's Commissioner of Justice is empowered, in agreement with the Commissariat of Social Security and Work, to issue a detailed instruction concerning the enforcement of the present decree.

The present decree is of force from the date of its signature, and is to be put into operation by telegraph.

April 27, 1918

Decree regarding Grain Control

THE disastrous undermining of the country's food supply, the serious heritage of the four years' war, continues to extend more and more, and to be more and more acute. While the consuming provincial Governments are starving, in the producing Governments there are at the present moment, as before, large reserves of grain of the harvests of 1916 and 1917 not yet even threshed. This grain is in the hands of tight-fisted village dealers and profiteers, of the village bourgeoisie. Well fed and well provided for, having accumulated enormous sums of money obtained during the years of war, the village bourgeoisie remains stubbornly deaf and indifferent to the wailings of starving workmen and peasant poverty, and does not bring the grain to the collecting points. The grain is held with

the hope of compelling the Government to raise repeatedly the prices of grain, at the same time that the holders sell their grain at home at fabulous prices to grain speculators.

An end must be put to this obstinacy of the greedy village grain-profiters. The food experience of former years showed that the breaking of fixed prices and the denial of grain monopoly, while lessening the possibility of feasting for our group of capitalists, would make bread completely inaccessible to our many millions of workmen and would subject them to inevitable death from starvation.

The answer to the violence of grain-owners towards the starving poor must be violence towards the bourgeoisie.

Not a pood [40 lbs. Russian] should remain in the hands of those holding the grain, except the quantity needed for sowing the fields and provisioning their families until the new harvest.

This policy must be put into force at once, especially since the German occupation of the Ukraine compels us to get along with grain resources which will hardly suffice for sowing and curtailed use.

Having considered the situation thus created, and taking into account that only with the most rigid calculation and equal distribution of all grain reserves can Russia pass through the food crisis, the Central Executive Committee of all Russia has decreed:

1. Confirming the fixity of the grain monopoly and fixed prices, and also the necessity of a merciless struggle with grain speculators, to compel each grain owner to declare the surplus above what is needed to sow the fields and for personal use, according to established normal quantities, until the new harvest, and to surrender the same within a week after the publication of this decision in each village. The order of these declarations is to be determined by the People's Food Commissioner through the local food organizations.

2. To call upon workmen and poor peasants to unite at once for a merciless struggle with grain-hoarders.

3. To declare all those who have a surplus of grain and who do not bring it to the collecting points, and likewise those who waste grain reserves on illicit distillation of alcohol and do not bring them to the collecting points, enemies of the people; to turn them over to the Revolutionary Tribunal, imprison them for not less than ten years, confiscate their entire property, and drive them out forever from the communes; while the distillers are, besides, to be condemned to compulsory communal work.

In case an excess of grain which was not declared for surrender, in compliance with Article 1, is found in the possession of anyone, the grain is to be taken away from him without pay, while the sum, according to fixed prices, due for the undeclared surpluses is to be paid, one-half to the person who points out the concealed surpluses, after they have been placed at the collecting points, and the other half to the village commune. Declarations concerning the concealed surpluses are made by the local food organizations.

Further, taking into consideration that the struggle with the food crisis demands the application of quick and decisive measures, that the more fruitful realization of these measures demands in its turn the centralization of all orders dealing with the food question in one organization, and that this organization appears to be the People's Food Commissioner, the Central Executive Committee of all Russia hereby orders, for the more successful struggle with the food crisis, that the People's Food Commissioner be given the following powers:

1. To publish obligatory regulations regarding the food situation, exceeding the usual limits of the People's Food Commissioner's competence.

2. To abrogate the orders of local food bodies and other organizations contravening the plans and actions of the People's Commissioner.

3. To demand from institutions and organizations of all departments the carrying out of the regulations of the People's Food Commissioner in connection with the food situation without evasions and at once.

4. To use the armed forces in case resistance is shown to the removal of food grains or other food products.

5. To dissolve or reorganize the food agencies in places where they might resist the orders of the People's Commissioner.

6. To discharge, transfer, turn over to the Revolutionary Tribunal, or subject to arrest officials and employees of all departments and public organizations in case of interference with the orders of the People's Commissioner.

7. To transfer the present powers, in addition to the right to subject to arrest, above, to other persons and institutions in various places, with the approval of the Council of the People's Commissioners.

8. All understandings of the People's Commissioner, related in character to the Department of Ways of Communication and the Supreme Council of National Economy, are to be carried through upon consultation with the corresponding departments.

9. The regulations and orders of the People's Commissioner, issued in accordance with the present powers, are verified by his college, which has the right, without suspending their operation, of referring them to the Council of Public Commissioners.

10. The present decree becomes effective from the date of its signature and is to be put into operation by telegraph.

Published May 14, 1918

Decree Regarding Government Publications

Taking into consideration on the one hand the idleness which for various reasons exists among printers, and on the other the scarcity of books, the People's Commission on Education, through its literary publishing department and in coöperation with the departments of education outside the schools, school departments, and departments of science and art, and with the assistance of representatives of the printers' union and other interested societies, as the Commission shall see fit, and of experts specially invited by it, shall immediately undertake extensive publication.

First in order must come a cheap popular edition of the Russian classics. Those works for which the period of authors' rights has ended must be republished.

The works of all authors thus transferred from private to public ownership may, by a special order of the National Commissioner on Education regarding each author, be declared a Government monopoly, for a period, however, not exceeding five years. The Commission is to make use of this right with regard to those literary celebrities whose works, in accordance with this law, become the property of the people.

The publication of these works may be arranged in two series:

A complete scientific edition, the editorship of which should be entrusted to the department of Russian language and letters of the Academy of Sciences (after its democratization and adaptation to the new governmental and public life of Russia);

An abbreviated edition of selected works. Each selection is to constitute a single, compact volume. In the selection the editor is to be guided, among other considerations, by the suitability of the works to the working people, for whose benefit these popular editions are intended. Both the entire collection and separate, more important works are to be accompanied by prefaces by authoritative critics, historians of literature, etc. To edit these popular publications a special college should be created of prominent representatives of educational, literary, and scientific societies, specially invited experts, and delegates of workmen's organizations. Editors, confirmed by this Commission of Publication Control, must present to that body their plans of publication together with their commentaries of every description.

The popular edition of classics is to be sold at cost, and, if means shall permit, even below cost, and may even be given free through the libraries which serve the working democracy.

The Government Publishing House should further see to the publication of all sorts of text-books. The bringing up to date and correction of old manuals should be carried on through a special commission on manuals, consisting of delegates from educational, scientific, and democratic organizations and specially invited experts.

The Government Publishing House is likewise granted the right to subsidize publications, both periodicals and books, undertaken by societies and individuals and acknowledged to be useful to the general public, with the proviso that these subsidies, if the publication proves to be profitable, shall be re-funded to the Government as a first lien.

In order to undertake immediately this important public business of the Soviet of People's Commissaries, it is proposed to appropriate and place at the disposal of the Government Commission on Education the sum of a million and a half rubles.

All printing orders should be given exclusively at the direction of the Printers' Union, which regulates its distribution through the autonomous commissions of the various printing offices.

Foreign Press

Russian Policy in the Orient

THE following statement of the policy of the Soviet Government in the Orient was contributed by the chief of the Oriental division of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, Arsène Voznecienski, to the *New Orient*. It is here translated from the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* of December 8.

Our policy in the Orient has already been stated in the peace decree unanimously adopted at the session of October 26, 1917, of the All-Russian Congress of Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies. The imperial régime created in the East a special sort of hidden annexation, based upon so-called rights of European "concessions," or, as they used to called, "factories," and upon the institution of "capitulations"—the arrangement by which persons belonging to foreign countries were withdrawn from the domestic jurisdiction and thereby from the laws and regulations of Oriental countries. Thus imperialist countries, supported by the armed force which they had at their disposal on foreign territory, consisting partly of their own military forces and partly of native organizations formed on the spot, created conditions in the Oriental states in which their citizens and their interests were especially protected at the expense of the Oriental state. They have their own "concessions"; that is, they have created for themselves settlements within which the native population are on the level of slaves or even are not permitted to remain at all. They have put on the armor of complete independence of the authority of the state in which they live, and in this way they have to a certain degree erected an unapproachable citadel from which they can gradually extend their power over the subject peoples of the East.

Although this state of things may appear to have been sanctioned for centuries, Socialist Russia, from the first days of the October revolution, has made known to the enslaved peoples of the East that it was not only ready itself to renounce such "rights," but that it would also exert all its powers to secure, in union with the peoples of the East themselves, the abolition of this crying injustice and to make it possible for them to win back again their lost freedom. We have abrogated all secret treaties which the ruling classes of Oriental countries had made with the Czar's Government, whether from their own interest or from fear of foreign violence, and by means of which the masses were kept in subjection for decades and even for centuries. In the same way we have withdrawn our troops from the occupied territory of Persia, and recalled our military instructors who were in command of a native army for the protec-

tion of the interests of Russian capitalists and the support of Persian absolutism. We announced to China that we renounce the annexations of the Czar's régime in Manchuria, and that we restore the sovereignty of China in those regions in which lies the most important channel of trade and communication—the Chinese Eastern Railway, the property of the Chinese as of the Russian people, which has swallowed up many millions of the people's property and for this reason can belong only to the two peoples and to no one else. We intend to permit China to acquire the interest of the Russian people [in that railway] even before the date set by the contract that was forced upon China, if China repays the amount spent by the Russian people on the construction of the road. We have recalled all our consular guards which the Czar's Government, and the Kerensky Government likewise, had sent to China to maintain the autocracy and arbitrary power of the old Russian bureaucracy. It is our purpose to renounce the right of extra-territoriality of our citizens in China, Mongolia, and Persia. We are ready to renounce all those contributions which were imposed upon the peoples of China, Mongolia, and Persia under all sorts of pretexts by the old Russian Government. We wish only one thing—that these millions of the people's property may be spent to the advantage of the cultural development of the Oriental masses and for the cause of Oriental democracy.

What an impression the October revolution has made upon the masses of the people of the East is easily conceived. The events in our country have naturally found an echo first and foremost among our eastern neighbors, and the great upheaval has awakened in them an effort toward a new life. Not even the official representatives of the capitalist Government are able to hide this fact from us. The party that brought about the *coup d'état* in Russia is called in China "huan-i-t'ang," the party of the most far-reaching humanism. In Persia, which is torn in pieces and has no power in herself to fight for her existence, there has nevertheless arisen a movement which regards the creation of democratic organs, similar to our Soviets, as the only means of salvation from the yoke of foreigners and of the ruling classes who have sold them to foreigners. In South China, with its more awakened population, open revolution already rages, and we have ourselves received recently the admission of the leaders of this movement that the fact of the eight months' existence of a Socialist Government in Russia is alone sufficient to convince the peoples of the East that they too need such a new, firm order of society. There in the Far East, also, the people are struggling against the secret treaties that have been forced upon them. The representatives of revolutionary China have given public notice to all the democracies of the world that China does not recognize the recently concluded alliance with a neighboring Power—a treaty which robs the Chinese people of the right to determine for itself its own destiny and draws it irresistibly into the bloody war.

Intelligible also is the great influence which the Russian revolution has had upon the capitalist system in Oriental countries. Already, in February, there was a rising of the working masses in Tokio. The movement was nipped in the bud by the Japanese Government, and five of the most important representatives of the embryonic Social-Democratic party of Japan were arrested. The Japanese censorship exerted itself most zealously to prevent any publicity regarding events in Russia. Our revolutionary Siberia is still threatened with foreign interference, and since April 5, moreover, a Japanese detachment has occupied Russian soil. But in Japan the struggle for the right of the people to determine their own destiny is slowly but surely beginning, and this struggle has also already had results in the struggle over intervention in Russia. The man who must be regarded as the author of the Japanese intervention policy—a representative of the dying but still strong feudal system, Count Motono, the former Ambassador to Russia, who stands in close relation with the Russian reactionary *émigrés* who have fled to Japan—was obliged to leave his office. To-day, the chief opponents of intervention are the moderate lib-

eral elements who would, indeed, be glad to get from us certain definite advantages for themselves by peaceful means, but who do not wish to create in Russia an everlasting enemy of themselves. They understand fully that interference in Russian affairs might shape in momentous ways our mutual relations and also, possibly, the history of the whole further development of the Far East.

We are ready to concede to the Japanese citizens who desire to develop the natural resources of Siberia opportunity to take a larger part in our industrial and commercial life. We declare ourselves ready also, in case China will agree, to renounce our rights to a part of the Chinese Western Railway and to let Japan take by purchase the southern subsidiary lines of this road. We are also ready to grant every possible facility in regard to both export and import of Japanese wares to and from Russia. We are also ready to renew the commercial treaty and the fishery treaty with Japan, the latter of which is the basis of popular welfare for Japan, the Russian fish being not only the most important element of the food of the Japanese public but an almost indispensable fertilizer for their rice-fields. The Japanese Government is informed as to these intentions of ours and a formal exchange of views concerning them has already taken place.

The Japanese people should know this. They should be aware how far we are ready to go to meet their wishes and what significance this has for them. But perhaps it is kept secret from them, like so much else that happens in Russia. Perhaps the Japanese people are not even aware that the Russian people are eager to offer them their hands to build up Russo-Japanese relations on a sounder and firmer basis. The Japanese public should know that if this is not done, if our outstretched hand is not taken, the blame falls on those classes of Japan who, knowing all this well, have kept it secret from the Japanese people for the sake of their own predatory interests. If it should happen that Japan, fooled and blinded by its military class, decides on a reckless step against the Russian revolutionaries in order to stifle them, then the working classes of Russia will rise like one man to the defence of their greatest and dearest good—the winning of the Socialist revolution.

The Paris *Populaire* of November 10 has a summary of events in Russia from November, 1917, to November, 1918.

The INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS Section

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